

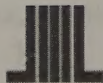


Constitution, The United States of America: With the Amendments Thereto to which are Added Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice, and the Standing Rules and Orders for Conducting Business in The House of Representatives and Senate

Thomas Jefferson, United States

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CONSTITUTION
OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WITH
THE AMENDMENTS THERETO:
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
JEFFERSON'S MANUAL OF PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE,
AND
THE STANDING RULES AND ORDERS
FOR CONDUCTING BUSINESS IN
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATE
OF
THE UNITED STATES.

PRINTED FOR THE USE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON:
C. WENDELL, PUBLIC PRINTER.
1857.

CONSTITUTION.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

CONSTITUTION

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

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sentatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be com- Representatives,
how chosen.
posed of members chosen every second year by
the people of the several States, and the electors
in each State shall have the qualifications requi-
site for electors of the most numerous branch of
the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall Qualification of
representatives.
not have attained the age of twenty-five years,
and have been seven years a citizen of the United
States, and who shall not, when elected, be an
inhabitant of that State in which he shall be
chosen.

Apportionment
of representatives
and direct taxes.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

Census every ten
years

Vacancies, how
filled.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Representatives
choose officers
and bring im-
peachments.

The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

Senate, how
chosen.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Senators classed. consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year ; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year ; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year ; so that one-third may be chosen every second year : and if vacancies happen by Vacancies, how filled. resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not Qualification of senators. have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall Vice President to preside. be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, Officers of Senate. and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try Trial of impeachments. all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside : and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in im-
peachments.

Effect of.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States ; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

Elections, when
and how held.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof ; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Congress assemble
annually.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Elections, how
judged.

Quorum.

Absent members.

Rules.

Expulsion.

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Journals to be kept and published.

Yeas and nays.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Adjournments.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Compensation.

Privileges.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Members not appointed to office.

Officers of government cannot be members.

SECTION VII.

Revenue bills.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Bills to be presented to the President.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of

His powers over them.

the United States; if he approve he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after

Proceedings on his veto.

such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each

Bills to be laws if not returned in ten days.

house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Joint orders or resolutions to be approved by the President.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the Presi-

dent of the United States ; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States ;

Powers of Congress to lay taxes—pay debts.
General welfare.
Duties uniform.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States ;

Borrow money.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes ;

Commerce.

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

Naturalization.
Bankruptcy.

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

Coin money.
Weights and measures.

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

Counterfeiting.

To establish post offices and post roads ;

Post roads.

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

Promote arts and science.

- Inferior courts.** To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;
- Piracies, &c.** To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;
- Declare war and make captures.** To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.
- Raise armies.** To raise and support armies ; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;
- Navy.** To provide and maintain a navy ;
- Rules and articles of war.** To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;
- Call out militia.** To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;
- Organize and govern militia.** To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;
- Exclusive legislation over seat of government.** To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ; and
- And over forts, arsenals, docks, &c.**

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

To make general laws to carry powers into effect.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Importation of slaves allowed till 1808.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

Habeas corpus.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

Attainder and ex post facto laws.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

Direct taxes.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No exportation duty.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Commerce between the States.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of

Money, how drawn from the treasury.

the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

To be published.

No nobility.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States ; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Foreign presents and titles.

SECTION X.

Powers denied to the States.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Other powers denied to States.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

Further denial of powers to States.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

President of the United States.

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Electors, how appointed.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number

Electors to meet and to elect a President and Vice President.

Their votes counted in Congress.

Representatives to
elect, if electors
of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President.

by States. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each
President. State having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.*

ion and meet-
ing of electors. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes ; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

ifications of
President. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

removal, death,
or resignation of President. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to

* This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the amendments, page 31.

discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive Compensation of President. for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will Oath. faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION II.

The President shall be commander-in-chief of Powers and duties of the President. the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant

reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

Appointment of
public officers.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

Vacancies in
office.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

Further powers
and duties of the
President.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice President, and all civil ^{Impeachment.} officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall ^{Judiciary and tenure of judges.} be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, ^{Powers of the judiciary.} in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands

under grants of different States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Trials by jury.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial

And where held.

shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

No corruption of blood.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Acts of States
accredited.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Privileges of citizenship.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Fugitives from
justice to be de-
livered up.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Fugitive slaves to
be delivered up.

SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or part of States, without

New States.

the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

Territory and
other property of
United States.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

Republican form
of government.

The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

Protection of
States.

ARTICLE V.

Amendments of
this Constitution.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner

affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

Debts of former government recognised.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

What constitutes the supreme law.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Oath of public officers.

No religious test.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Ratification.

CONSTITUTION.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO: WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.

William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.

William Livingston,
David Brearley,
William Paterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

B Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouv. Morris.

DELAWARE.

Geo. Read,
Gunning Bedford, jun.,
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.

James McHenry,
Dan. of St. Thomas Jenifer.
Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.

John Blair,
James Madison, jun.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Blount,
Rich'd Dobbs Spaight,
Hu. Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. Rutledge,
Charles Coatesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.

William Few,
Abr. Baldwin.

Attest:

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONVENTION WHICH FORMED THE CONSTITUTION.

IN CONVENTION.MONDAY, *September 17, 1787.*

Resolved, That the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled; and that it is the opinion of this Convention that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to and ratifying the same should give notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that, as soon as the conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution; that after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected; that the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the President, and should transmit their votes, certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled; that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole purpose of receiving,

opening, and counting the votes for President; and that, after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the unanimous order of the Convention:

GEO: WASHINGTON, *President.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

LETTER OF THE CONVENTION TO THE OLD CONGRESS.

IN CONVENTION.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

SIR: We have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired that the power of making war, peace, and treaties; that of levying money, and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the General Government of the Union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident; hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these States to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance as on the object

to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved ; and on the present occasion, this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our Union—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected ; and thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State, is not, perhaps, to be expected ; but each will doubtless consider that, had her interest been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe. That it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect we have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient, humble servants.

By unanimous order of the Convention :

GEO : WASHINGTON, *President.*

His Excellency the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE OLD CONGRESS.

UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.FRIDAY, *September* 28, 1787.

Present.—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and from Maryland, Mr. Ross.

Congress having received the report of the Convention lately assembled in Philadelphia—

Resolved, unanimously, That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the Convention made and provided in that case.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary*.

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment

of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people,

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-

thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

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MANUAL

OF

PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE.

**EXTRACT FROM THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES.**

The rules of parliamentary practice comprised in Jefferson's Manual shall govern the House in all cases to which they are applicable, and in which they are not inconsistent with the standing rules and orders of the House and the joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives.—(*Adopted September 15, 1837.*)

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PREFACE.

The Constitution of the United States, establishing a legislature for the Union under certain forms, authorizes each branch of it "to determine the rules of its own proceedings." The Senate have accordingly formed some rules for its own government; but these going only to few cases, they have referred to the decision of their President, without debate and without appeal, all questions of order arising either under their own rules, or where they have provided none. This places under the discretion of the President a very extensive field of decision, and one which, irregularly exercised, would have a powerful effect on the proceedings and determinations of the House. The President must feel, weightily and seriously, this confidence in his discretion, and the necessity of recurring, for its government, to some known system of rules, that he may neither leave himself free to indulge caprice or passion, nor open to the imputation of them. But to what system of rules is he to recur, as supplementary to those of the Senate? To this there can be but one answer. To the system of regulations adopted for the government of some one of the parliamentary bodies within these States, or of that which has served as a prototype to most of them. This last is the model which we have all studied, while we are little acquainted with the modifications of it in our several States. It is deposited, too, in publications possessed by many, and open to all. Its rules are probably as wisely constructed for

governing the debates of a considerative body, and obtaining its true sense, as any which can become known to us ; and the acquiescence of the Senate, hitherto, under the references to them, has given them the sanction of their approbation.

Considering, therefore, the law of proceedings in the Senate as composed of the precepts of the Constitution, the regulations of the Senate, and, where these are silent, of the rules of Parliament, I have here endeavored to collect and digest so much of these as is called for in ordinary practice, collating the Parliamentary with the Senatorial rules, both where they agree and where they vary. I have done this, as well to have them at hand for my own government, as to deposit with the Senate the standard by which I judge, and am willing to be judged. I could not doubt the necessity of quoting the sources of my information, among which Mr. Hatsel's most valuable book is pre-eminent ; but as he has only treated some general heads, I have been obliged to recur to other authorities in support of a number of common rules of practice, to which his plan did not descend. Sometimes each authority cited supports the whole passage. Sometimes it rests on all taken together. Sometimes the authority goes only to a part of the text, the residue being inferred from known rules and principles. For some of the most familiar forms no written authority is or can be quoted ; no writer having supposed it necessary to repeat what all were presumed to know. The statement of these must rest on their notoriety.

I am aware that authorities can often be produced in opposition to the rules which I lay down as parliamentary. An attention to dates will generally remove their weight. The proceedings of Parliament in ancient times, and for a long while, were crude, multiform, and embarrassing. They have

been, however, constantly advancing towards uniformity and accuracy, and have now attained a degree of aptitude to their object beyond which little is to be desired or expected.

Yet I am far from the presumption of believing that I may not have mistaken the Parliamentary practice in some cases, and especially in those minor forms, which, being practised daily, are supposed known to everybody, and therefore have not been committed to writing. Our resources, in this quarter of the globe, for obtaining information on that part of the subject, are not perfect. But I have begun a sketch, which those who come after me will successively correct and fill up, till a code of rules shall be formed for the use of the Senate, the effects of which may be accuracy in business, economy of time, order, uniformity, and impartiality.

NOTE.—The rules and practices peculiar to the SENATE are printed between brackets, []. Those of PARLIAMENT are not so distinguished.

MANUAL

OF

PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE.

IMPORTANCE OF RULES.

SEC. I.—IMPORTANCE OF ADHERING TO RULES:

Mr. ONSLOW, the ablest among the Speakers of the House of Commons, used to say, "It was a maxim he had often heard when he was a young man, from old and experienced members, that nothing tended more to throw power into the hands of administration, and those who acted with the majority of the House of Commons, than a neglect of, or departure from, the rules of proceeding: that these forms, as instituted by our ancestors, operated as a check and control on the actions of the majority, and that they were, in many instances, a shelter and protection to the minority, against the attempts of power." So far the maxim is certainly true, and is founded in good sense, that as it is always in the power of the majority, by their numbers, to stop any improper measures proposed on the part of their opponents, the only weapons by which the minority can defend themselves against similar attempts from those in power, are the forms and rules of proceeding which have been adopted as they were found necessary, from time to time, and are become the law of the House; by a strict adherence to which, the weaker party can only be protected from those irregularities and abuses which these forms were intended to check, and which the wantonness of power is but too often apt to suggest to large and successful majorities. 2 *Hats.*, 171, 172.

And whether these forms be in all cases the most rational or not, is really not of so great importance. It is much more

material that there should be a rule to go by, than what that rule is; that there may be a uniformity of proceeding in business, not subject to the caprice of the Speaker, or capriciousness of the members. It is very material that order, decency, and regularity, be preserved in a dignified public body. 2 *Hats.*, 149.

SEC. II.—LEGISLATIVE.

[All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. *Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sec. 1.*]

[The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. *Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sec. 6.*]

[For the powers of Congress, see the following Articles and Sections of the Constitution of the United States. I, 4, 7, 8, 9. II, 1, 2. III, 3. IV, 1, 3, 5, and all the amendments.]

SEC. III.—PRIVILEGE.

The privileges of members of Parliament, from small and obscure beginnings, have been advancing for centuries with a firm and never yielding pace. Claims seem to have been brought forward from time to time, and repeated, till some example of their admission enabled them to build law on that example. We can only, therefore, state the points of progression at which they now are. It is now acknowledged, 1st. That they are at all times exempted from question elsewhere for anything said in their own House; that during the time of privilege, 2d. Neither a member himself, his* wife, nor his servants, (*familiares sue*) for any matter of their own, may be† arrested on mesne process, in any civil suit:

* Order of the House of Commons, 1663, July 16.

† Eleyng, 217; 1 *Hats*, 21; 1 *Grey's Deb*, 133.

3d. Nor be detained under execution, though levied before time of privilege: 4th. Nor impleaded, cited, or subpœnaed in any court: 5th. Nor summoned as a witness or juror: 6th. Nor may their lands or goods be distrained: 7th. Nor their persons assaulted, or characters traduced. And the period of time covered by privilege, before and after the session, with the practice of short prorogations under the connivance of the crown, amounts in fact to a perpetual protection against the course of justice. In one instance indeed it has been relaxed by the 10 G. 3, c. 50, which permits judiciary proceedings to go on against them. That these privileges must be continually progressive, seems to result from their rejecting all definition of them; the doctrine being that "their dignity and independence are preserved by keeping their privileges indefinite; and that 'the maxims upon which they proceed, together with the method of proceeding, rest entirely in their own breast, and are not defined and ascertained by any particular stated laws.' " 1 *Blackst.*, 163, 164.

[It was probably from this view of the encroaching character of privilege, that the framers of our Constitution, in their care to provide that the laws shall bind equally on all, and especially that those who make them shall not exempt themselves from their operation, have only privileged "Senators and Representatives" themselves from the single act of "arrest in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same, and from being questioned in any other place for any speech or debate in either House." *Const. U. S., Art. 1, Sec. 6*. Under the general authority "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers given them," *Const. U. S., Art. 2, Sec. 8*, they may provide by law the details which may be necessary for giving full effect to the enjoyment of this privilege. No such law being as yet made, it seems to stand at present on the following ground: 1. The act of arrest is void, *ab initio*.* 2. The member arrested may

*2 *Stra.*, 989.

be discharged on motion, 1 *Bl.*, 166; 2 *Stra.*, 990; or by habeas corpus under the Federal or State authority, as the case may be; or by a writ of privilege out of the Chancery, 2 *Stra.*, 989, in those States which have adopted that part of the laws of England. *Orders of the House of Commons*, 1550, February 20. 3. The arrest being unlawful, is a trespass for which the officer and others concerned are liable to action or indictment in the ordinary courts of justice, as in other cases of unauthorized arrest. 4. The court before which the process is returnable, is bound to act as in other cases of unauthorized proceeding, and liable also, as in other similar cases, to have their proceedings stayed or corrected by the superior courts.]

[The time necessary for going to, and returning from, Congress, not being defined, it will, of course, be judged of in every particular case by those who will have to decide the case.] While privilege was understood in England to extend, as it does here, only to exemption from arrest, *eundo, morando, et redeundo*, the House of Commons themselves decided that "a convenient time was to be understood." (1580,) 1 *Hats.*, 99, 100. Nor is the law so strict in point of time as to require the party to set out immediately on his return, but allows him time to settle his private affairs, and to prepare for his journey; and does not even scan his road very nicely, nor forfeit his protection for a little deviation from that which is most direct; some necessity perhaps constraining him to it. 2 *Stra.*, 986, 987.

This privilege from arrest, privileges, of course, against all process the disobedience to which is punishable by an attachment of the person; as a subpœna ad respondendum, or testificandum, or a summons on a jury; and with reason, because a member has superior duties to perform in another place. [When a representative is withdrawn from his seat by summons, the 40,000 people whom he represents, lose their voice in debate and vote, as they do on his voluntary absence: when a senator is withdrawn by summons, his State loses half its voice in debate and vote, as it does on his

voluntary absence. The enormous disparity of evil admits no comparison.]

[So far there will probably be no difference of opinion as to the privileges of the two houses of Congress: but in the following cases it is otherwise. In December, 1795, the House of Representatives committed two persons of the name of Randall and Whitney, for attempting to corrupt the integrity of certain members, which they considered as a contempt and breach of the privileges of the House; and the facts being proved, Whitney was detained in confinement a fortnight, and Randall three weeks, and was reprimanded by the Speaker. In March, 1796, the House of Representatives voted a challenge given to a member of their House to be a breach of the privileges of the House; but satisfactory apologies and acknowledgments being made, no further proceeding was had. The editor of the *Aurora* having, in his paper of February 19, 1800, inserted some paragraphs defamatory of the Senate, and failed in his appearance, he was ordered to be committed. In debating the legality of this order, it was insisted, in support of it, that every man, by the law of nature, and every body of men, possesses the right of self-defence; that all public functionaries are essentially invested with the powers of self-preservation; that they have an inherent right to do all acts necessary to keep themselves in a condition to discharge the trusts confided to them; that whenever authorities are given, the means of carrying them into execution are given by necessary implication; that thus we see the British Parliament exercise the right of punishing contempts; all the State Legislatures exercise the same power, and every court does the same; that, if we have it not, we sit at the mercy of every intruder who may enter our doors or gallery, and, by noise and tumult, render proceeding in business impracticable; that if our tranquillity is to be perpetually disturbed by newspaper defamation, it will not be possible to exercise our functions with the requisite coolness and deliberation; and

that we must therefore have a power to punish these disturbers of our peace and proceedings. To this it was answered, that the Parliament and courts of England have cognizance of contempts by the express provisions of their law; that the State Legislatures have equal authority, because their powers are plenary; they represent their constituents completely, and possess all their powers, except such as their constitutions have expressly denied them; that the courts of the several States have the same powers by the laws of their States, and those of the federal government by the same State laws adopted in each State, by a law of Congress; that none of these bodies, therefore, derive those powers from natural or necessary right, but from express law; that Congress have no such natural or necessary power, nor any powers but such as are given them by the Constitution; that that has given them, directly, exemption from personal arrest, exemption from question elsewhere for what is said in their House, and power over their own members and proceedings; for these no further law is necessary, the Constitution being the law; that, moreover, by that article of the Constitution which authorizes them "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in them," they may provide by law for an undisturbed exercise of their functions, e. g. for the punishment of contempts, of affrays or tumult in their presence, &c.; but, till the law be made, it does not exist; and does not exist, from their own neglect; that in the mean time, however, that they are not unprotected, the ordinary magistrates and courts of law being open and competent to punish all unjustifiable disturbances or defamations, and even their own sergeant, who may appoint deputies ad libitum to aid him, 3 *Grey*, 59, 147, 255, is equal to small disturbances; that in requiring a previous law, the Constitution had regard to the inviolability of the citizen, as well as of the member; as, should one House, in the regular form of a bill, aim at too

broad privileges, it may be checked by the other, and both by the President; and also as, the law being promulgated, the citizen will know how to avoid offence. But if one branch may assume its own privileges without control, if it may do it on the spur of the occasion, conceal the law in its own breast, and after the fact committed, make its sentence both the law and the judgment on that fact; if the offence is to be kept undefined, and to be declared only *ex re nata*, and according to the passions of the moment, and there be no limitation either in the manner or measure of the punishment, the condition of the citizen will be perilous indeed. Which of these doctrines is to prevail, time will decide. Where there is no fixed law, the judgment on any particular case is the law of that single case only, and dies with it. When a new and even a similar case arises, the judgment which is to make and at the same time apply the law, is open to question and consideration, as are all new laws. Perhaps Congress, in the mean time, in their care for the safety of the citizen, as well as that for their own protection, may declare by law what is necessary and proper to enable them to carry into execution the powers vested in them, and thereby hang up a rule for the inspection of all, which may direct the conduct of the citizen, and at the same time test the judgments they shall themselves pronounce in their own case.]

Privilege from arrest takes place by force of the election; and before a return be made a member elected may be named of a committee, and is to every extent a member, except that he cannot vote until he is sworn. *Memor.*, 107, 108. *D'Ewes*, 642, col. 2; 643, col. 1. *Pet. Miscel. Parl.*, 119. *Lex. Parl.*, c. 23. 2 *Hats.*, 22, 62.

Every man must, at his peril, take notice who are members of either House returned of record. *Lex. Parl.*, 23; 4 *Inst.*, 24.

On complaint of a breach of privilege, the party may either be summoned, or sent for in custody of the sergeant. 1 *Grey*, 88, 95.

The privilege of a member is the privilege of the House. If the member waive it without leave, it is a ground for punishing him, but cannot in effect waive the privilege of the House. 3 *Grey*, 140, 222.

For any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place. *Const. U. S.*, I, 6; *S. P. protest of the Commons to James I*, 1621; 2 *Rapin*, No. 54, pp. 211, 212. But this is restrained to things done in the House in a parliamentary course. 1 *Rush.*, 663. For he is not to have privilege contra morem parliamentarium, to exceed the bounds and limits of his place and duty. *Com. p.*

If an offence be committed by a member in the House, of which the House has cognizance, it is an infringement of their right for any person or court to take notice of it, till the House has punished the offender, or referred him to a due course. *Lex. Parl.*, 63.

Privilege is in the power of the House, and is a restraint to the proceeding of inferior courts, but not of the House itself. 2 *Nelson*, 450; 2 *Grey*, 399. For whatever is spoken in the House is subject to the censure of the House; and offences of this kind have been severely punished by calling the person to the bar to make submission, committing him to the tower, expelling the House, &c. *Scob.*, 72; *L. Parl.*, c. 22.

It is a breach of order for the Speaker to refuse to put a question which is in order. 2 *Hats.*, 175-6; 5 *Grey*, 133.

And even in cases of treason, felony, and breach of the peace, to which privilege does not extend as to substance, yet in Parliament a member is privileged as to the mode of proceeding. The case is first to be laid before the House, that it may judge of the fact and of the grounds of the accusation, and how far forth the manner of the trial may concern their privilege; otherwise it would be in the power of other branches of the government, and even of every private man, under pretences of treason, &c., to take any man from his service in the House, and so as many, one after another,

as would make the House what he pleaseth. *Dec. of the Com. on the King's declaring Sir John Hotham a traitor.* 4 *Rushw.*, 586. So, when a member stood indicted for felony, it was adjudged that he ought to remain of the House till conviction; for it may be any man's case, who is guiltless, to be accused and indicted of felony, or the like crime. 23 *El.*, 1580; *D'Ewes*, 283, col. 1; *Lex. Parl.*, 133.

When it is found necessary for the public service to put a member under arrest, or when, on any public inquiry, matter comes out which may lead to affect the person of a member, it is the practice immediately to acquaint the House, that they may know the reasons for such a proceeding, and take such steps as they think proper. 2 *Hats.*, 259. Of which see many examples. *Ib.*, 256, 257, 258. But the communication is subsequent to the arrest. 1 *Blackst.*, 167.

It is highly expedient, says *Hatsel*, for the due preservation of the privileges of the separate branches of the legislature, that neither should encroach on the other, or interfere in any matter depending before them, so as to preclude, or even influence that freedom of debate, which is essential to a free council. They are therefore not to take notice of any bills or other matters depending, or of votes that have been given, or of speeches which have been held, by the members of either of the other branches of the legislature, until the same have been communicated to them in the usual parliamentary manner. 2 *Hats.*, 252. 4 *Inst.*, 15. *Seld. Jud.*, 53. Thus the king's taking notice of the bill for suppressing soldiers, depending before the House; his proposing a provisional clause for a bill before it was presented to him by the two Houses; his expressing displeasure against some persons for matters moved in Parliament during the debate and preparation of a bill, were breaches of privilege; 2 *Nelson*, 743; and in 1783, December 17, it was declared a breach of fundamental privileges, &c., to report any opinion or pretended opinion of the king on any bill or proceeding depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members. 2 *Hats.*, 251, 6.

SEC. IV.—ELECTIONS.

[The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators. *Const.*, I, 4.]

[Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members. *Const.*, I, 5.]

SEC. V.—QUALIFICATIONS.

[The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years, and each senator shall have one vote.]

[Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the end of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.]

[No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen. *Const.*, I, 3.]

[The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.]

[No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.]

[Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative. *Constitution of the United States, I, 2.*]

[The provisional apportionments of representatives made in the Constitution in 1787, and afterwards by Congress, were as follows:

STATES.	1787. (a)	1790. (b)	1800. (c)	1810. (d)	1820. (e)	1830. (f)
Maine (g).....	..	..	..	..	7	8
New Hampshire.....	3	4	5	6	6	5
Massachusetts.....	8	14	17	20	13	12
Rhode Island.....	1	2	2	2	2	2
Connecticut.....	5	7	7	7	6	6
Vermont.....	..	2	4	6	5	5
New York.....	6	10	17	27	34	40
New Jersey.....	4	5	6	6	6	6
Pennsylvania.....	8	13	18	23	26	28
Delaware.....	1	1	1	2	1	1
Maryland.....	6	8	9	9	9	8
Virginia.....	10	19	22	28	22	21
North Carolina.....	5	10	12	13	13	13
South Carolina.....	5	6	8	9	9	9
Georgia.....	3	2	4	6	7	9
Kentucky.....	..	2	6	10	12	13
Tennessee (h).....	..	..	3	6	9	13
Ohio (i).....	..	..	..	6	14	19
Louisiana (j).....	..	..	..	..	3	3
Indiana (k).....	..	..	..	..	3	7
Mississippi (l).....	..	..	..	..	1	2
Illinois (m).....	..	..	..	..	1	3
Alabama (n).....	..	..	..	..	3	5
Missouri (o).....	..	..	..	..	..	2
Michigan (p).....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas (q).....	..	..	..	..	..	..

(a) As per Constitution.

(b) As per act of April 14, 1792, one representative for 33,000—first census.

[When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. I, 2.]

[No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office. *Const.*, I, 6.]

SEC. VI.—QUORUM.

[A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide. *Const.*, I, 5.]

In general, the chair is not to be taken till a quorum for

- (c) As per act of Jan. 14, 1802, one representative for 33,000—second census.
- (d) As per act of Dec. 21, 1811, one representative for 35,000—third census.
- (e) As per act of Mar. 7, 1822, one representative for 40,000—fourth census.
- (f) As per act of May 22, 1832, one representative for 47,700—fifth census.
- (g) Previous to the 3d March, 1820, Maine formed a part of Massachusetts, and was called the *District of Maine*, and its representatives are numbered with those of Massachusetts. By compact between Maine and Massachusetts, Maine became a separate and independent State, and by act of Congress of 3d March, 1820, was admitted into the Union as such—the admission to take place on the 15th of the same month. On the 7th of April, 1820, Maine was declared entitled to seven representatives, to be taken from those of Massachusetts.
- (h) Admitted under act of Congress of June 1, 1796, with one representative.
- (i) Do.....do.....do.....do.....April 30, 1802.....do.....do.
- (j) Do.....do.....do.....do.....April 8, 1812.....do.....do.
- (k) Do.....do.....do.....do.....Dec. 11, 1816.....do.....do.
- (l) Do.....do.....do.....do.....Dec. 10, 1817.....do.....do.
- (m) Do.....do.....do.....do.....Dec. 3, 1818.....do.....do.
- (n) Do.....do.....do.....do.....Dec. 14, 1819.....do.....do.
- (o) Do.....do.....do.....do.....Mar. 2, 1821.....do.....do.
- (p) Do.....do.....do.....do.....Jan. 26, 1837.....do.....do.
- (q) Do.....do.....do.....do.....June 15, 1836.....do.....do.

business is present ; unless, after due waiting, such a quorum be despaired of, when the chair may be taken and the House adjourned. And whenever, during business, it is observed that a quorum is not present, any member may call for the house to be counted, and being found deficient, business is suspended. 2 *Hats.*, 125, 126.]

[The President having taken the chair, and a quorum being present, the journal of the preceding day shall be read, to the end that any mistake may be corrected that shall have been made in the entries. *Rules of the Senate.*]

SEC. VII.—CALL OF THE HOUSE.

On a call of the house, each person rises up as he is called and answereth ; the absentees are then only noted, but no excuse to be made till the House be fully called over. Then the absentees are called a second time, and if still absent, excuses are to be heard. *Ord. House of Commons*, 92.

They rise that their persons may be recognised ; the voice, in such a crowd, being an insufficient verification of their presence. But in so small a body as the Senate of the United States, the trouble of rising cannot be necessary.

Orders for calls on different days may subsist at the same time. 2 *Hats.*, 72.

SEC. VIII.—ABSENCE.

[No member shall absent himself from the service of the Senate, without leave of the Senate first obtained. And in case a less number than a quorum of the Senate shall convene, they are hereby authorized to send the Sergeant-at-Arms, or any other person or persons by them authorized, for any or all absent members, as the majority of such members present shall agree, at the expense of such absent members, respectively, unless such excuse for non-attendance shall be made as the Senate, when a quorum is convened, shall judge sufficient : and in that case the expense shall be paid out of

the contingent fund. And this rule shall apply as well to the first convention of the Senate, at the legal time of meeting, as to each day of the session, after the hour is arrived to which the Senate stood adjourned. *Rule 8.*]

SEC. IX.—SPEAKER.

[The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided. *Constitution*, I, 3.]

[The Senate shall choose their officers, and also a President pro tempore in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States. *Ib.*]

[The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers. *Const.*, I, 2.]

When but one person is proposed, and no objection made, it has not been usual in Parliament to put any question to the House; but without a question the members proposing him conduct him to the chair. But if there be objection, or another proposed, a question is put by the clerk. 2 *Hats.*, 158. As are also questions of adjournment. 6 *Grey*, 406. Where the House debated and exchanged messages and answers with the king for a week, without a Speaker, till they were prorogued. They have done it *de die in diem* for 14 days. 1 *Chand.*, 331, 335.

[In the Senate, a President pro tempore in the absence of the Vice President is proposed and chosen by ballot. His office is understood to be determined on the Vice President's appearing and taking the chair, or at the meeting of the Senate after the first recess.]

Where the Speaker has been ill, other Speakers pro tempore have been appointed. Instances of this are 1 *H.*, 4. Sir John Cheyney, and for Sir Wm. Sturton, and in 15 *H.*, 6. Sir John Tyrrel, in 1656, January 27; 1658, March 9; 1659, January 13.

Sir Job Charlton ill, Seymour chosen,	} Not merely pro tempore. 1 <i>Chand.</i> 169, 276, 277.
1673, February 18.	
Seymour being ill, Sir Robert Sawyer chosen, 1678, April 15.	
Sawyer being ill, Seymour chosen.	

Thorpe in execution, a new Speaker chosen, 31 *H. VI.*, 3 *Grey*, 11; and March 14, 1694, Sir John Trevor chosen. There have been no later instances. 2 *Hats.*, 161; 4 *Inst.*; 8 *L. Parl.*, 263.

A Speaker may be removed at the will of the House, and a Speaker pro tempore appointed.* 2 *Grey*, 186; 5 *Grey*, 134.

SEC. X.—ADDRESS.

[The President shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. *Const.* II, 3.]

A joint address of both Houses of Parliament is read by the Speaker of the House of Lords. It may be attended by both Houses in a body, or by a committee from each House, or by the two Speakers only. An address of the House of Commons only, may be presented by the whole House, or by the Speaker, 9 *Grey*, 473; 1 *Chandler*, 298, 301; or by such particular members as are of the privy council. 2 *Hats.*, 278.

SEC. XI.—COMMITTEES.

Standing committees, as of privileges and elections, &c., are usually appointed at the first meeting, to continue through the session. The person first named is generally permitted to act as chairman. But this is a matter of courtesy; every committee having a right to elect their own chairman, who presides over them, puts questions, and reports their proceedings to the House. 4 *Inst.*, 11, 12; *Scob.*, 9; 1 *Grey*, 122.

* **RULE 23.** The Vice President, or President of the Senate *pro tempore*, shall have the right to name a member to perform the duties of the Chair; but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment.

At these committees the members are to speak standing, and not sitting ; though there is reason to conjecture it was formerly otherwise. *D'Ewes*, 630, col. 1 ; 4 *Parl. Hist.*, 440 ; 2 *Hats.*, 77.

Their proceedings are not to be published, as they are of no force till confirmed by the House. *Rushw.*, part 3, vol. 2, 74 ; 3 *Grey*, 401 ; *Scob.*, 39. Nor can they receive a petition but through the House. 9 *Grey*, 412.

When a committee is charged with an inquiry, if a member proved to be involved, they cannot proceed against him, but must make a special report to the House ; whereupon the member is heard in his place, or at the bar, or a special authority is given to the committee to inquire concerning him. 9 *Grey*, 523.

So soon as the House sits, and a committee is notified of it, the chairman is in duty bound to rise instantly, and the members to attend the service of the House. 2 *Nals.*, 319.

It appears that on joint committees of the Lords and Commons, each committee acted integrally in the following instances : 7 *Grey*, 261, 278, 285, 338 ; 1 *Chandler*, 357, 462. In the following instances it does not appear whether they did or not : 6 *Grey*, 129 ; 7 *Grey*, 213, 229, 321.*

* **RULE 33.** The following standing committees, to consist of five members each, shall be appointed at the commencement of each session, with leave to report by bill or otherwise :

A Committee on Foreign Relations.

A Committee on Finance.

A Committee on Commerce.

A Committee on Manufactures.

A Committee on Agriculture.

A Committee on Military Affairs.

A Committee on the Militia.

A Committee on Naval Affairs.

A Committee on Public Lands.

A Committee on Private Land Claims.

A Committee on Indian Affairs.

A Committee of Claims.

A Committee on the Judiciary.

SEC. XII.—COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE.

The speech, messages, and other matters of great concernment, are usually referred to a committee of the whole house, (6 *Grey*, 311,) where general principles are digested in the form of resolutions, which are debated and amended till they get into a shape which meets the approbation of a majority. These being reported and confirmed by the House, are then referred to one or more select committees, according as the subject divides itself into one or more bills. *Scob.*, 36, 44. Propositions for any charge on the people are especially to be first made in a committee of the whole. 3 *Hats.*, 127. The sense of the whole is better taken in committee, because in all committees every one speaks as often as he pleases. *Scob.*, 49. They generally acquiesce in the chairman named by the Speaker ; but, as well as all other committees, have a right to elect one, some member, by consent, putting the question. *Scob.*, 36 ; 3 *Grey*, 301. The form of going from the House into committee, is for the Speaker, on motion, to put the question that the House do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take under consideration such a matter, naming it. If determined in the affirmative, he leaves the chair and takes a seat elsewhere, as any other member ; and the person appointed chairman seats himself at the clerk's table. *Scob.*, 36. Their quorum is the same as that of the House ; and if a defect happens, the chairman, on a motion and question, rises, the Speaker resumes the chair, and the chairman can make no other report than to inform the House

A Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

A Committee on Pensions.

A Committee on the District of Columbia.

A Committee, of three members, whose duty it shall be to audit and control the contingent expenses of the Senate.

And a Committee, consisting of three members, whose duty it shall be to examine all bills, amendments, resolutions, or motions, before they go out of the possession of the Senate, and to make report that they are correctly engrossed ; which report shall be entered on the journal.

of the cause of their dissolution. If a message is announced during a committee, the Speaker takes the chair, and receives it, because the committee cannot. 2 *Hats.*, 125, 126.

In a committee of the whole, the tellers on a division differing as to numbers, great heats and confusion arose, and danger of a decision by the sword. The Speaker took the chair, the mace was forcibly laid on the table; whereupon, the members retiring to their places, the Speaker told the House "he had taken the chair without an order, to bring the House into order." Some excepted against it; but it was generally approved, as the only expedient to suppress the disorder. And every member was required, standing up in his place, to engage that he would proceed no further in consequence of what had happened in the grand committee, which was done. 3 *Grey*, 128.

A committee of the whole being broken up in disorder, and the chair resumed by the Speaker without an order, the House was adjourned. The next day the committee was considered as thereby dissolved, and the subject again before the House; and it was decided in the House, without returning into committee. 3 *Grey*, 130.

No previous question can be put in a committee; nor can this committee adjourn as others may; but if their business is unfinished, they rise, on a question, the House is resumed, and the chairman reports that the committee of the whole have, according to order, had under their consideration such a matter, and have made progress therein; but not having had time to go through the same, have directed him to ask leave to sit again. Whereupon a question is put on their having leave, and on the time the House will again resolve itself into a committee. *Scob.*, 38. But if they have gone through the matter referred to them, a member moves that the committee may rise, and the chairman report their proceedings to the House; which being resolved, the chairman rises, the Speaker resumes the chair, the chairman informs him that the committee have gone through the business

referred to them, and that he is ready to make report when the House shall think proper to receive it. If the House have time to receive it, there is usually a cry of "now, now," whereupon he makes the report: but if it be late, the cry is "to-morrow, to-morrow," or "Monday," &c., or a motion is made to that effect, and a question put that it be received to-morrow, &c. *Scob.*, 38.

In other things the rules of proceedings are to be the same as in the House. *Scob.*, 39.

SEC. XIII.—EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

Common fame is a good ground for the House to proceed by inquiry, and even to accusation. *Resolution House of Commons*, 1 *Car.*, 1, 1625; *Rush. L. Parl.*, 115; 1 *Grey*, 16—22, 92; 8 *Grey*, 21, 23, 27, 45.

Witnesses are not to be produced but where the House has previously instituted an inquiry, (2 *Hats.*, 102,) nor then are orders for their attendance given blank. 3 *Grey*, 51.

When any person is examined before a committee, or at the bar of the House, any member wishing to ask the person a question, must address it to the Speaker or chairman, who repeats the question to the person, or says to him, "you hear the question—answer it." But if the propriety of the question be objected to, the Speaker directs the witness, counsels, and parties, to withdraw; for no question can be moved or put, or debated, while they are there. 2 *Hats.*, 108. Sometimes the questions are previously settled in writing before the witness enters. *Ib.*, 106, 107; 8 *Grey*, 64. The questions asked must be entered in the journals. 3 *Grey*, 81. But the testimony given in answer before the House is never written down; but before a committee, it must be, for the information of the House, who are not present to hear it. 7 *Grey*, 52, 334.

If either house have occasion for the presence of a person in custody of the other, they ask the other their leave that he may be brought up to them in custody. 3 *Hats.*, 52.

A member, in his place, gives information to the House of what he knows of any matter under hearing at the bar. *Jour. H. of C., Jan. 22, 1744-'45.*

Either house may request, but not command, the attendance of a member of the other. They are to make the request by message to the other house, and to express clearly the purpose of attendance, that no improper subject of examination may be tendered to him. The House then gives leave to the member to attend, if he choose it; waiting first to know from the member himself whether he chooses to attend, till which they do not take the message into consideration. But when the peers are sitting as a court of criminal judicature, they may order attendance, unless where it be a case of impeachment by the Commons. There, it is to be a request. 3 *Hats.*, 17; 9 *Grey*, 306, 406; 10 *Grey*, 133.

Counsel are to be heard only on private, not on public bills, and on such points of law only as the House shall direct. 10 *Grey*, 61.

SEC. XIV.—ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The Speaker is not precisely bound to any rules as to what bills or other matter shall be first taken up; but is left to his own discretion, unless the House on a question decide to take up a particular subject. *Hakew.*, 136.

A settled order of business is, however, necessary for the government of the presiding person, and to restrain individual members from calling up favorite measures, or matters under their special patronage, out of their just turn. It is useful also for directing the discretion of the House, when they are moved to take up a particular matter, to the prejudice of others having priority of right to their attention in the general order of business.

[In Senate, the bills and other papers which are in possession of the house, and in a state to be acted on, are arranged every morning, and brought on in the following order:]

[1. Bills ready for a second reading are read, that they may be referred to committees, and so be put under way. But if, on their being read, no motion is made for commitment, they are then laid on the table in the general file, to be taken up in their just turn.]

[2. After 12 o'clock, bills ready for it are put on their passage.]

[3. Reports in possession of the house, which offer grounds for a bill, are to be taken up, that the bill may be ordered in.]

[4. Bills or other matters before the house, and unfinished on the preceding day, whether taken up in turn or on special order, are entitled to be resumed and passed on through their present stage.]

[5. These matters being despatched, for preparing and expediting business, the general file of bills and other papers is then taken up, and each article of it is brought on according to its seniority, reckoned by the date of its first introduction to the house. Reports on bills belong to the dates of their bills.]

[The arrangement of the business of the Senate is now as follows:]

[1. Motions previously submitted.]

[2. Reports of Committees previously made.]

[3. Bills from the House of Representatives, and those introduced on leave, which have been read the first time, are read the second time; and if not referred to a committee, are considered in Committee of the Whole, and proceeded with as in other cases.]

[4. After twelve o'clock, engrossed bills of the Senate, and bills of the House of Representatives, on third reading, are put on their passage.]

[5. If the above are finished before one o'clock, the general file of bills, consisting of those reported from committees on the second reading, and those reported from committees after having been referred, are taken up in the order in which

they were reported to the Senate by the respective committees.]

[6. At one o'clock, if no business be pending, or if no motion be made to proceed to other business, the special orders are called, at the head of which stands the unfinished business of the preceding day.]

[In this way we do not waste our time in debating what shall be taken up. We do one thing at a time; follow up a subject while it is fresh, and till it is done with; clear the house of business gradatim as it is brought on, and prevent, to a certain degree, its immense accumulation towards the close of the session.]

[Arrangement, however, can only take hold of matters in possession of the house. New matter may be moved at any time when no question is before the house. Such are original motions and reports on bills. Such are bills from the other house, which are received at all times, and receive their first reading as soon as the question then before the house is disposed of; and bills brought in on leave, which are read first whenever presented. So messages from the other house respecting amendments to bills are taken up as soon as the house is clear of a question, unless they require to be printed, for better consideration. Orders of the day may be called for, even when another question is before the house.]

SEC. XV.—ORDER.

[Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings; punish its members for disorderly behavior; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. *Const.* I, 5.]

In Parliament, "instances make order," per Speaker Onslow. 2 *Hats.*, 141. But what is done only by one Parliament, cannot be called custom of Parliament; by Prynne. 1 *Grey*, 52.

SEC. XVI.—ORDER RESPECTING PAPERS.

The clerk is to let no journals, records, accounts, or papers, be taken from the table or out of his custody. 2 *Hats.*, 193, 194.

Mr. Prynne having at a committee of the whole amended a mistake in a bill without order or knowledge of the committee, was reprimanded. 1 *Chand.*, 77.

A bill being missing, the House resolved that a protestation should be made and subscribed by the members "before Almighty God, and this honorable House, that neither myself nor any other to my knowledge, have taken away, or do at this present conceal a bill entitled," &c. 5 *Grey*, 202.

After a bill is engrossed, it is put into the Speaker's hands, and he is not to let any one have it to look into. *Town.*, col. 209.

SEC. XVII.—ORDER IN DEBATE.

When the Speaker is seated in his chair, every member is to sit in his place. *Scob.*, 6; *Grey*, 403.

When any member means to speak, he is to stand up in his place, uncovered, and to address himself, not to the House, or any particular member, but to the Speaker, who calls him by his name, that the House may take notice who it is that speaks. *Scob.*, 6; *D'Ewes*, 487, col. 1; 2 *Hats*, 77; 4 *Grey*, 66; 8 *Grey*, 108. But members who are indisposed may be indulged to speak sitting. 2 *Hats.*, 75, 77; 1 *Grey*, 143.

[In senate, every member, when he speaks, shall address the Chair standing in his place, and when he has finished, shall sit down. *Rule 3.*]

When a member stands up to speak, no question is to be put, but he is to be heard, unless the House overrule him. 4 *Grey*, 390; 5 *Grey*, 6, 143.

If two or more rise to speak nearly together, the Speaker determines who was first up, and calls him by name; whereupon he proceeds, unless he voluntarily sits down and gives way to the other. But sometimes the House does not acquiesce in the Speaker's decision, in which case the question is put, "which member was first up?" 2 *Hats.*, 76; *Scob.*, 7; *D'Ewes*, 434, col. 1, 2.

[In the Senate of the United States, the President's decision is without appeal. Their rule is in these words: *when two members rise at the same time, the President shall name the person to speak; but in all cases the member who shall first rise and address the Chair, shall speak first. Rule 5.*]

No man may speak more than once on the same bill on the same day; or even on another day, if the debate be adjourned. But if it be read more than once in the same day, he may speak once at every reading. *Co.*, 12, 115; *Hakew.*, 148; *Scob.*, 58; 2 *Hats.*, 75. Even a change of opinion does not give a right to be heard a second time. *Smyth's Comw.*, L. 2, c. 3; *Arcan Parl.*, 17.

[The corresponding rule of the Senate is in these words: No member shall speak more than twice, in any one debate, on the same day, without leave of the Senate. *Rule 4.*]

But he may be permitted to speak again to clear a matter of fact, 3 *Grey*, 357, 416; or merely to explain himself (2 *Hats.*, 73) in some material part of his speech, *Ib.*, 75; or to the manner or words of the question, keeping himself to that only, and not travelling into the merits of it, *Memorials in Hakew.*, 29; or to the orders of the House, if they be transgressed, keeping within that line, and not falling into the matter itself. *Mem. Hakew.*, 30, 31.

But if the Speaker rise to speak, the member standing up ought to sit down, that he may be first heard. *Town.*, col. 205; *Hale Parl.*, 133; *Mem. in Hakew.*, 30, 31. Nevertheless, though the Speaker may of right speak to matters of order, and be first heard, he is restrained from speaking on any other subject, except where the House have occasion for facts within his knowledge; then he may, with their leave, state the matter of fact. 3 *Grey*, 38.

No one is to speak impertinently or beside the question, superfluous or tediously. *Scob.* 31, 33; 2 *Hats.*, 166, 168; *Hale Parl.*, 133.

No person is to use indecent language against the proceedings of the House; no prior determination of which is to be

reflected on by any member, unless he means to conclude with a motion to rescind it. 2 *Hats.*, 169, 170; *Rushaw.*, p. 3, v. 1, fol. 42. But while a proposition under consideration is still in *fieri*, though it has even been reported by a committee, reflections on it are no reflections on the House. 9 *Grey*, 508.

No person, in speaking, is to mention a member then present by his name, but to describe him by his seat in the House, or who spoke last, or on the other side of the question, &c., *Mem. in Hakew.*, 3; *Smyth's Comw.*, L. 2, c. 3; nor to digress from the matter to fall upon the person (*Scob.*, 31; *Hale Parl.*, 133; 2 *Hats.*, 166) by speaking, reviling, nipping, of unmannerly words against a particular member. *Smith's Comw.*, L. 2, c. 3. The consequences of a measure may be reprobated in strong terms; but to arraign the motives of those who propose to advocate it, is a personality, and against order. *Qui digreditur a materia ad personam*, Mr. Speaker ought to suppress. *Ord. Com.*, 1604, Apr. 19.

[When a member shall be called to order by the President or a Senator, he shall sit down; and every question of order shall be decided by the President, without debate, subject to an appeal to the Senate; and the President may call for the sense of the Senate on any question of order. *Rule 6.*]

[No member shall speak to another or otherwise interrupt the business of the Senate, or read any printed paper while the journals or public papers are reading, or when any member is speaking in any debate. *Rule 2.*]

No one is to disturb another in his speech by hissing, coughing, spitting, (6 *Grey*, 332; *Scob.*, 8; *D' Ewes*, 332, col. 1, 640, col. 2,) speaking or whispering to another, (*Scob.*, 6; *D' Ewes*, 487, col. 1;) nor stand up to interrupt him, (*Town.*, col. 205; *Mem. in Hakew.*, 31;) nor to pass between the Speaker and the speaking member, nor to go across the House, (*Scob.*, 6,) or to walk up and down it, or to take books or papers from the table, or write there, (2 *Hats.*, 171.)

Nevertheless, if a member finds that it is not the inclina-

tion of the House to hear him, and that by conversation or any other noise they endeavor to drown his voice, it is his most prudent way to submit to the pleasure of the House, and sit down; for it scarcely ever happens that they are guilty of this piece of ill manners without sufficient reason, or inattentive to a member who says any thing worth their hearing. 2 *Hats.*, 77, 78.

If repeated calls do not produce order, the Speaker may call by his name any member obstinately persisting in irregularity; whereupon the House may require the member to withdraw. He is then to be heard in exculpation, and to withdraw. Then the Speaker states the offence committed; and the House considers the degree of punishment they will inflict. 2 *Hats.*, 167, 7, 8, 172.

For instances of assaults and affrays in the House of Commons, and the proceedings thereon, see 1 *Pet. Misc.*, 82; 3 *Grey*, 128; 4 *Grey*, 328; 5 *Grey*, 382; 6 *Grey*, 254; 10 *Grey*, 8. Whenever warm words or an assault have passed between members, the House, for the protection of their members, requires them to declare in their places not to prosecute any quarrel, (3 *Grey*, 128, 293; 5 *Grey*, 289;) or orders them to attend the Speaker, who is to accommodate their differences, and report to the House, (3 *Grey*, 419;) and they are put under restraint if they refuse, or until they do, (9 *Grey*, 234, 312.)

Disorderly words are not to be noticed till the member has finished his speech. 5 *Grey*, 356; 6 *Grey*, 60. Then the person objecting to them, and desiring them to be taken down by the clerk at the table, must repeat them. The Speaker then may direct the clerk to take them down in his minutes; but if he thinks them not disorderly, he delays the direction. If the call becomes pretty general, he orders the clerk to take them down, as stated by the objecting member. They are then part of his minutes; and when read to the offending member, he may deny they were his words, and the House must then decide by a question whether they are his words

or not. Then the member may justify them, or explain the sense in which he used them, or apologize. If the House is satisfied, no further proceeding is necessary. But if two members still insist to take the sense of the House, the member must withdraw before that question is stated, and then the sense of the House is to be taken. 2 *Hats.*, 199; 4 *Grey*, 170; 6 *Grey*, 59. When any member has spoken, or other business intervened, after offensive words spoken, they cannot be taken notice of for censure. And this is for the common security of all, and to prevent mistakes which must happen if words are not taken down immediately. Formerly they might be taken down at any time the same day. 2 *Hats.*, 196; *Mem. in Hakew.*, 71; 3 *Grey*, 48; 9 *Grey*, 514.

Disorderly words spoken in a committee must be written down as in the House; but the committee can only report them to the House for animadversion. 6 *Grey*, 46.

[The rule of the Senate says: If the member be called to order by a Senator for words spoken, the exceptionable words shall immediately be taken down in writing, that the President may be better enabled to judge of the matter. *Rule 7.*]

In Parliament, to speak irreverently or seditiously against the King is against order. *Smyth's Comw.*, L. 2, c. 3; 2 *Hats.*, 170,

It is a breach of order in debate to notice what has been said on the same subject in the other house, or the particular votes or majorities on it there; because the opinion of each house should be left to its own independency, not to be influenced by the proceedings of the other; and the quoting them might beget reflections leading to a misunderstanding between the two houses. 8 *Grey*, 22.

Neither house can exercise any authority over a member or officer of the other, but should complain to the house of which he is, and leave the punishment to them. Where the complaint is of words disrespectfully spoken by a member of another house, it is difficult to obtain punishment, because of the rules supposed necessary to be observed (as to the immediate

noting down of words) for the security of members. Therefore it is the duty of the House, and more particularly of the Speaker, to interfere immediately, and not to permit expressions to go unnoticed which may give a ground of complaint to the other house, and introduce proceedings and mutual accusations between the two houses, which can hardly be terminated without difficulty and disorder. 3 *Hats.*, 51.

No member may be present when a bill or any business concerning himself is debating; nor is any member to speak to the merits of it till he withdraws. 2 *Hats.*, 219. The rule is, that if a charge against a member arise out of a report of a committee, or examination of witnesses in the House, as the member knows from that to what points he is to direct his exculpation, he may be heard to those points before any question is moved or stated against him. He is then to be heard, and withdraw before any question is moved. But if the question itself is the charge, as for breach of order, or matter arising in the debate, then the charge must be stated, (that is, the question must be moved,) himself heard, and then to withdraw. 2 *Hats.*, 121, 122.

Where the private interests of a member are concerned in a bill or question, he is to withdraw. And where such an interest has appeared, his voice has been disallowed, even after a division. In a case so contrary, not only to the laws of decency, but to the fundamental principle of the social compact, which denies to any man to be a judge in his own cause, it is for the honor of the House that this rule, of immemorial observance, should be strictly adhered to. 2 *Hats.*, 119, 121; 6 *Grey*, 368.

No member is to come into the House with his head covered, nor to remove from one place to another with his hat on, nor is to put on his hat in coming in, or removing, until he be set down in his place. *Scob.*, 6.

A question of order may be adjourned to give time to look into precedents. 2 *Hats.*, 118.

In Parliament, all decisions of the Speaker may be controlled by the House. 3 *Grey*, 319.

SEC. XVIII.—ORDERS OF THE HOUSE.

Of right, the door of the House ought not to be shut, but to be kept by porters, or sergeants-at-arms, assigned for that purpose. *Mod. ten. Parl.*, 23.

[By the rules of the Senate, on motion made and seconded to shut the doors of the Senate on the discussion of any business which may, in the opinion of a member, require secrecy, the President shall direct the gallery to be cleared; and during the discussion of such motion the doors shall remain shut. *Rule 18.*]

[No motion shall be deemed in order to admit any person or persons whatever within the doors of the Senate chamber to present any petition, memorial, or address, or to hear any such read. *Rule 19.*]

The only case where a member has a right to insist on any thing, is where he calls for the execution of a subsisting order of the House. Here, there having been already a resolution, any person has a right to insist that the Speaker, or any other whose duty it is, shall carry it into execution; and no debate or delay can be had on it. Thus any member has a right to have the House or gallery cleared of strangers, an order existing for that purpose; or to have the House told when there is not a quorum present. 2 *Hats.*, 87, 129. How far an order of the House is binding, see *Hakew.*, 392.

But where an order is made that any particular matter be taken up on a particular day, there a question is to be put, when it is called for, whether the House will now proceed to that matter? Where orders of the day are on important or interesting matter, they ought not to be proceeded on till an hour at which the House is usually full, [*which in Senate is at noon.*]

Orders of the day may be discharged at any time, and a new one made for a different day. 3 *Grey*, 48, 313.

When a session is drawing to a close, and the important bills are all brought in, the House, in order to prevent inter-

ruption by further unimportant bills, sometimes come to a resolution that no new bill be brought in, except it be sent from the other house. 3 *Grey*, 156.

All orders of the House determine with the session; and one taken under such an order may, after the session is ended, be discharged on a habeas corpus. *Raym.*, 120; *Jacob's L. D. by Ruffhead*; *Parliament*, 1 *Lev.*, 165, (*Pritchard's case.*)

[Where the Constitution authorizes each house to determine the rules of its proceedings, it must mean in those cases (legislative, executive, or judiciary) submitted to them by the Constitution, or in something relating to these, and necessary towards their execution. But orders and resolutions are sometimes entered in the journals, having no relation to these, such as acceptances of invitations to attend orations, to take part in processions, &c. These must be understood to be merely conventional among those who are willing to participate in the ceremony, and are therefore, perhaps, improperly placed among the records of the House.]

SEC. XIX.—PETITIONS.

A petition prays something. A remonstrance has no prayer. 1 *Grey*, 58.

Petitions must be subscribed by the petitioners, (*Scob.*, 87; *L. Parl.*, c. 22; 9 *Grey*, 362,) unless they are attending, (1 *Grey*, 401,) or unable to sign, and averred by a member, (3 *Grey*, 418.) But a petition not subscribed, but which the member presenting it affirmed to be all in the handwriting of the petitioner, and his name written in the beginning, was on the question (Mar. 14, 1800) received by the Senate. The averment of a member, or of somebody without doors, that they know the handwriting of the petitioners, is necessary, if it be questioned. 6 *Grey*, 36. It must be presented by a member—not by the petitioners, and must be opened by him, holding it in his hand. 10 *Grey*, 57.

[Before any petition or memorial addressed to the Senate shall be received and read at the table, whether the same shall be introduced by the President or a member, a brief statement of the contents of the petition or memorial shall verbally be made by the introducer. *Rule 24.*]

Regularly a motion for receiving it must be made and seconded, and a question put, whether it shall be received? but a cry from the House of "received," or even its silence, dispenses with the formality of this question. It is then to be read at the table and disposed of.

SEC. XX.—MOTIONS.

When a motion has been made, it is not to be put to the question or debated until it is seconded. *Scob.*, 21.

[The Senate say, No motion shall be debated until the same shall be seconded. *Rule 9.*]

It is then, and not till then, in possession of the House, and cannot be withdrawn but by leave of the House. It is to be put into writing, if the House or Speaker require it, and must be read to the House by the Speaker as often as any member desires it for his information. 2 *Hats.*, 82.

[The rule of the Senate is, when a motion shall be made and seconded, it shall be reduced to writing, if desired by the President or any member, delivered in at the table, and read by the President, before the same shall be debated. *Rule 10.*]

It might be asked whether a motion for adjournment or for the orders of the day can be made by one member while another is speaking? It cannot. When two members offer to speak, he who rose first is to be heard, and it is a breach of order in another to interrupt him, unless by calling him to order if he departs from it. And the question of order being decided, he is still to be heard through. A call for adjournment, or for the order of the day, or for the question, by gentlemen from their seats, is not a motion. No motion can be made without rising and addressing the Chair. Such

calls are themselves breaches of order, which, though the member who has risen may respect, as an expression of impatience of the House against further debate; yet, if he chooses, he has a right to go on.

SEC. XXI.—RESOLUTIONS.

When the House commands, it is by an “order.” But fact, principles, and their own opinions and purposes, are expressed in the form of resolutions.

[A resolution for an allowance of money to the clerks being moved, it was objected to as not in order, and so ruled by the Chair; but on an appeal to the Senate, (i. e. a call for their sense by the President, on account of doubt in his mind, according to Rule 16,) the decision was overruled. *Jour. Sen., June 1, 1796.* I presume the doubt was, whether an allowance of money could be made otherwise than by bill.]

SEC. XXII.—BILLS.

[Every bill shall receive three readings previous to its being passed; and the President shall give notice at each whether it be first, second, or third; which readings shall be on three different days, unless the Senate unanimously direct otherwise. *Rule 26.*]

SEC. XXIII.—BILLS, LEAVE TO BRING IN.

[One day’s notice, at least, shall be given of an intended motion for leave to bring in a bill. *Rule 25.*]

When a member desires to bring in a bill on any subject, he states to the House in general terms the causes for doing it, and concludes by moving for leave to bring in a bill, entitled, &c. Leave being given, on the question, a committee is appointed to prepare and bring in the bill. The mover and seconder are always appointed of this committee, and one or more in addition. *Hakew., 132; Scob., 40.*

It is to be presented fairly written, without any erasure or interlineation, or the Speaker may refuse it. *Scob., 41; 1 Grey, 82, 84.*

SEC. XXIV.—BILLS, FIRST READING.

When a bill is first presented, the Clerk reads it at the table, and hands it to the Speaker, who, rising, states to the House the title of the bill; that this is the first time of reading it; and the question will be, whether it shall be read a second time? then sitting down to give an opening for objections. If none be made, he rises again, and puts the question, whether it shall be read a second time? *Hakew.*, 137, 141. A bill cannot be amended on the first reading, (6 *Grey*, 286;) nor is it usual for it to be opposed then, but it may be done, and rejected. *D' Ewes*, 335, col. 1; 3 *Hats.*, 198.

SEC. XXV.—BILLS, SECOND READING.

The second reading must regularly be on another day. *Hakew.*, 143. It is done by the Clerk at the table, who then hands it to the Speaker. The Speaker, rising, states to the House the title of the bill; that this is the second time of reading it; and that the question will be, whether it shall be committed or engrossed and read a third time? But if the bill came from the other house, as it always comes engrossed, he states that the question will be, whether it shall be read a third time? and before he has so reported the state of the bill, no one is to speak to it. *Hakew.*, 143, 146.

[In the Senate of the United States, the President reports the title of the bill; that this is the second time of reading it; that it is now to be considered as in a Committee of the Whole; and the question will be, whether it shall be read a third time? or that it may be referred to a special committee?]

SEC. XXVI.—BILLS, COMMITMENT.

If on motion and question it be decided that the bill shall be committed, it may then be moved to be referred to Committee of the Whole House, or to a special committee. If the latter, the Speaker proceeds to name the committee. Any

member also may name a single person, and the Clerk is to write him down as of the committee. But the House have a controlling power over the names and number, if a question be moved against any one; and may in any case put in and put out whom they please.

Those who take exceptions to some particulars in the bill are to be of the committee, but none who speak directly against the body of the bill; for he that would totally destroy will not amend it, (*Hakew.*, 146; *Town.*, col. 208; *D'Ewes*, 634, col. 2; *Scob.*, 47 :) or, as it is said, (5 *Grey*, 145,) the child is not to be put to a nurse that cares not for it, (6 *Grey*, 373.) It is therefore a constant rule "that no man is to be employed in any matter who has declared himself against it." And when any member who is against the bill hears himself named of its committee, he ought to ask to be excused. Thus (March 7, 1606) Mr Hadley was, on the question being put, excused from being of a committee, declaring himself to be against the matter itself. *Scob.*, 46.

[No bill shall be committed or amended until it shall have been twice read; after which it may be referred to a committee. *Rule 27.*]

[In the appointment of the standing committees, the Senate will proceed, by ballot, severally to appoint the chairman of each committee; and then, by one ballot the other members necessary to complete the same; and a majority of the whole number of votes given shall be necessary to the choice of a chairman of a standing committee. All other committees shall be appointed by ballot, and a plurality of votes shall make a choice. When any subject or matter shall have been referred to a committee, any other subject or matter of a similar nature, may, on motion, be referred to such committee. *Rule 34.*]

The Clerk may deliver the bill to any member of the committee, (*Town.*, col. 138;) but it is usual to deliver it to him who is first named.

In some cases the House has ordered a committee to with-

draw immediately into the committee chamber, and act on and bring back the bill, sitting the House. *Scob.*, 48. A committee meet when and where they please, if the House has not ordered time and place for them, (6 *Grey*, 370;) but they can only act when together, and not by separate consultation and consent—nothing being the report of the committee but what has been agreed to in committee actually assembled.

A majority of the committee constitutes a quorum for business. *Elsynge's Method of Passing Bills*, 11.

Any member of the House may be present at any select committee, but cannot vote, and must give place to all of the committee, and sit below them. *Elsynge*, 12; *Scob.*, 49.

The committee have full power over the bill or other paper committed to them, except that they cannot change the title or subject. 8 *Grey*, 228.

The paper before a committee, whether select or of the whole, may be a bill, resolutions, draught of an address, &c., and it may either originate with them or be referred to them. In every case the whole paper is read first by the clerk, and then by the chairman, by paragraphs, (*Scob.*, 49,) pausing at the end of each paragraph, and putting questions for amending, if proposed. In the case of resolutions on distinct subjects, originating with themselves, a question is put on each separately, as amended or unamended, and no final question on the whole, (3 *Hats.*, 276;) but if they relate to the same subject, a question is put on the whole. If it be a bill, draught of an address, or other paper originating with them, they proceed by paragraphs, putting questions for amending either by insertion or striking out, if proposed; but no question on agreeing to the paragraphs separately; this is reserved to the close, when a question is put on the whole for agreeing to it as amended or unamended. But if it be a paper referred to them, they proceed to put questions of amendment, if proposed, but no final question on the whole, because all parts of the paper, having been adopted by the

House, stand, of course, unless altered or struck out by a vote. Even if they are opposed to the whole paper, and think it cannot be made good by amendments, they cannot reject it, but must report it back to the House without amendments, and there make their opposition.

The natural order in considering and amending any paper is, to begin at the beginning, and proceed through it by paragraphs, and this order is so strictly adhered to in Parliament, that when a latter part has been amended, you cannot recur back and make any alteration in a former part. *2 Hats.*, 90. In numerous assemblies this restraint is doubtless important. [But in the Senate of the United States, though in the main we consider and amend the paragraphs in their natural order, yet recurrences are indulged; and they seem, on the whole, in that small body, to produce advantages overweighing their inconveniences.]

To this natural order of beginning at the beginning, there is a single exception found in parliamentary usage. When a bill is taken up in committee, or on its second reading, they postpone the preamble till the other parts of the bill are gone through. The reason is, that on consideration of the body of the bill, such alterations may therein be made as may also occasion the alteration of the preamble. *Scob.*, 50; *7 Grey*, 431.

On this head the following case occurred in the Senate, March 6, 1800: A resolution which had no preamble having been already amended by the House so that a few words only of the original remained in it, a motion was made to prefix a preamble, which having an aspect very different from the resolution, the mover intimated that he should afterwards propose a correspondent amendment in the body of the resolution. It was objected that a preamble could not be taken up till the body of the resolution is done with; but the preamble was received, because we are in fact through the body of the resolution: we have amended that as far as amendments have been offered, and, indeed, till little of the

original is left. It is the proper time, therefore, to consider a preamble; and whether the one offered be consistent with the resolution is for the House to determine. The mover, indeed, has intimated that he shall offer a subsequent proposition for the body of the resolution; but the House is not in possession of it; it remains in his breast, and may be withheld. The rules of the House can only operate on what is before them. [The practice of the Senate, too, allows recurrences backwards and forwards for the purposes of amendment, not permitting amendments in a subsequent to preclude those in a prior part, or *e converso*.]

When the committee is through the whole, a member moves that the committee may rise, and the chairman report the paper to the House, with or without amendments, as the case may be. 2 *Hats.*, 289, 292; *Scob.*, 53; 2 *Hats.*, 290; 8 *Scob.*, 50.

When a vote is once passed in a committee, it cannot be altered but by the House, their votes being binding on themselves. 1607, *June* 4.

The committee may not erase, interline, or blot the bill itself; but must, in a paper by itself, set down the amendments, stating the words which are to be inserted or omitted, (*Scob.*, 50,) and where, by references to the page, line, and word of the bill. *Scob.*, 50.

SEC. XXVII.—REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

The chairman of the committee, standing in his place, informs the House that the committee, to whom was referred such a bill, have, according to order, had the same under consideration, and have directed him to report the same without any amendment, or with sundry amendments, (as the case may be,) which he is ready to do when the House pleases to receive it. And he or any other may move that it be now received; but the cry of "now, now," from the House, generally dispenses with the formality of a motion

and question. He then reads the amendments, with the coherence in the bill, and opens the alterations and the reasons of the committee for such amendments, until he has gone through the whole. He then delivers it at the Clerk's table, where the amendments reported are read by the Clerk without the coherence; whereupon the papers lie upon the table till the House, at its convenience, shall take up the report. *Scob.*, 52; *Hakew.*, 148.

The report being made, the committee is dissolved, and can act no more without a new power. *Scob.*, 51. But it may be revived by a vote, and the same matter recommitted to them. 4 *Grey*, 361.

SEC. XXVIII.—BILL, RECOMMITMENT.

After a bill has been committed and reported, it ought not, in an ordinary course, to be recommitted; but in cases of importance, and for special reasons, it is sometimes recommitted, and usually to the same committee. *Hakew.*, 151. If a report be recommitted before agreed to in the House, what has passed in committee is of no validity; the whole question is again before the committee, and a new resolution must be again moved, as if nothing had passed. 3 *Hats.*, 131—*note*.

In Senate, January, 1800, the salvage bill was recommitted three times after the commitment.

A particular clause of a bill may be committed without the whole bill, (3 *Hats.*, 131;) or so much of a paper to one and so much to another committee.

SEC. XXIX.—BILL, REPORTS TAKEN UP.

When the report of a paper originating with a committee is taken up by the House, they proceed exactly as in committee. Here, as in committee, when the paragraphs have, on distinct questions, been agreed to *seriatim*, (5 *Grey*, 366; 6 *Grey*, 368; 8 *Grey*, 47, 104, 360; 1 *Torbuck's Deb.*, 125;

3 *Hats.*, 348,) no question needs be put on the whole report.
5 *Grey*, 381.

On taking up a bill reported with amendments, the amendments only are read by the Clerk. The Speaker then reads the first, and put it to the question, and so on till the whole are adopted or rejected, before any other amendment be admitted, except it be an amendment to an amendment. *Elsynge's Mem.*, 53. When through the amendments of the committee, the Speaker pauses, and gives time for amendments to be proposed in the House to the body of the bill, as he does also if it has been reported without amendments, putting no questions but on amendments proposed; and when through the whole, he puts the question whether the bill shall be read a third time?

SEC. XXX.—QUASI-COMMITTEE.

If on motion and question the bill be not committed, or if no proposition for commitment be made, then the proceedings in the Senate of the United States and in Parliament are totally different. The former shall be first stated.

[The 28th rule of the Senate says: "All bills on a second reading shall first be considered by the Senate in the same manner as if the Senate were in Committee of the Whole before they shall be taken up and proceeded on by the Senate agreeably to the standing rules, unless otherwise ordered;" (that is to say, unless ordered to be referred to a special committee.) And when the Senate shall consider a treaty, bill, or resolution, as in Committee of the Whole, the Vice President or President *pro tempore* may call a member to fill the chair during the time the Senate shall remain in Committee of the Whole; and the chairman (so called) shall, during such time, have the powers of a President *pro tempore*.

[The proceedings of the Senate as in a Committee of the Whole, or in Quasi-Committee, is precisely as in a real Committee of the Whole, taking no questions but on amendments. When through the Whole, they consider the Quasi-Commit-

tee as risen, the House resumed without any motion, question, or resolution to that effect, and the President reports that "the House, acting as in a Committee of the Whole, have had under their consideration the bill entitled, &c., and have made sundry amendments, which he will now report to the House." The bill is then before them, as it would have been if reported from a committee, and questions are regularly to be put again on every amendment; which being gone through, the President pauses to give time to the House to propose amendments to the body of the bill, and, when through, puts the question whether it shall be read a third time?]

[After progress in amending the bill in Quasi-Committee, a motion may be made to refer it to a special committee. If the motion prevails, it is equivalent in effect to the several votes, that the committee rise, the House resume itself, discharge the Committee of the Whole, and refer the bill to a special committee. In that case, the amendments already made fall. But if the motion fails, the Quasi-Committee stands *in statu quo*.]

[How far does this 28th rule subject the House, when in Quasi-Committee, to the laws which regulate the proceedings of Committees of the Whole?] The particulars in which these differ from proceedings in the House are the following: 1. In a committee every member may speak as often as he pleases. 2. The votes of a committee may be rejected or altered when reported to the House. 3. A committee, even of the Whole, cannot refer any matter to another committee. 4. In a committee no previous question can be taken: the only means to avoid an improper discussion is to move that the committee rise; and if it be apprehended that the same discussion will be attempted on returning into committee, the House can discharge them, and proceed itself on the business, keeping down the improper discussion by the previous question. 5. A committee cannot punish a breach of order in the House or in the gallery. 9 *Grey*, 113. It can only rise and report it to the House, who may proceed to

punish. [The first and second of these peculiarities attach to the Quasi-Committee of the Senate, as every day's practice proves, and seem to be the only ones to which the 28th rule meant to subject them ; for it continues to be a house, and therefore, though it acts in some respects as a committee, in others it preserves its character as a house. Thus (3) it is in the daily habit of referring its business to a special committee. 4. It admits of the previous question. If it did not, it would have no means of preventing an improper discussion, not being able, as a committee is, to avoid it by returning into the house, for the moment it would resume the same subject there, the 28th rule declares it again a Quasi-Committee. 5. It would doubtless exercise its powers as a house on any breach of order. 6. It takes a question by yea and nay, as the House does. 7. It receives messages from the President and the other house. 8. In the midst of a debate it receives a motion to adjourn, and adjourns as a house, not as a committee.]

SEC. XXXI.—BILL, SECOND READING IN THE HOUSE.

In Parliament, after the bill has been read a second time, if on the motion and question it be not committed, or if no proposition for commitment be made, the Speaker reads it by paragraphs, pausing between each, but putting no question but on amendments proposed ; and when through the whole, he puts the question whether it shall be read a third time ? if it come from the other house ; or, if originating with themselves, whether it shall be engrossed and read a third time ? The Speaker reads sitting, but rises to put questions. The Clerk stands while he reads.

[*But the Senate of the United States is so much in the

*The former practice of the Senate referred to in this paragraph has been changed by the following rule :

[The final question upon the second reading of every bill, resolution, constitutional amendment or motion, originating in the Senate, and requiring three readings previous to being passed, shall be, "Whether it shall be engrossed and

habit of making many and material amendments at the third reading, that it has become the practice not to engross a bill till it has passed—an irregular and dangerous practice, because in this way the paper which passes the Senate is not that which goes to the other house, and that which goes to the other house as the act of the Senate has never been seen in Senate. In reducing numerous, difficult, and illegible amendments into the text, the Secretary may, with the most innocent intentions, commit errors which can never again be corrected.]

The bill being now as perfect as its friends can make it, this is the proper stage for those fundamentally opposed to make their first attack. All attempts at earlier periods are with disjointed efforts, because many who do not expect to be in favor of the bill ultimately are willing to let it go on to its perfect state, to take time to examine it themselves and to hear what can be said for it, knowing that after all they will have sufficient opportunities of giving it their veto. Its last two stages, therefore, are reserved for this—that is to say, on the question whether it shall be engrossed and read a third time? and, lastly, whether it shall pass? The first of these is usually the most interesting contest, because then the whole subject is new and engaging; and the minds of the members having not yet been declared by any trying vote, the issue is the more doubtful. In this stage, therefore, is the main trial of strength between its friends and opponents, and it behooves every one to make up his mind decisively for this question, or he loses the main battle; and accident

read a third time?" and no amendment shall be received for discussion at the third reading of any bill, resolution, amendment, or motion, unless by unanimous consent of the members present; but it shall at all times be in order before the final passage of any such bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, to move its commitment; and should such commitment take place, and any amendment be reported by the committee, the said bill resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, shall be again read a second time, and considered as in Committee of the Whole, and then the aforesaid question shall be again put. *Rule 29.*]

and management may and often do prevent a successful rallying on the next and last question, whether it shall pass?

When the bill is engrossed, the title is to be endorsed on the back, and not within the bill. *Hakew.*, 250.

SEC. XXXII.—READING PAPERS.

Where papers are laid before the House or referred to a committee, every member has a right to have them once read at the table before he can be compelled to vote on them; but it is a great though common error to suppose that he has a right, *toties quoties*, to have acts, journals, accounts, or papers on the table, read independently of the will of the House. The delay and interruption which this might be made to produce evince the impossibility of the existence of such a right. There is, indeed, so manifest a propriety of permitting every member to have as much information as possible on every question on which he is to vote, that when he desires the reading, if it be seen that it is really for information and not for delay, the Speaker directs it to be read without putting a question, if no one objects; but if objected to, a question must be put. 2 *Hats.*, 117, 118.

It is equally an error to suppose that any member has a right, without a question put, to lay a book or paper on the table, or have it read, on suggesting that it contains matter infringing on the privileges of the House. *Ib.*

For the same reason, a member has not a right to read a paper in his place, if it be objected to, without leave of the House. But this rigor is never exercised but where there is an intentional or gross abuse of the time and patience of the House.

A member has not a right even to read his own speech, committed to writing, without leave. This also is to prevent an abuse of time, and therefore is not refused but where that is intended. 2 *Grey*, 227.

A report of a committee of the Senate on a bill from the House of Representatives being under consideration, on motion that the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the same bill be read in the Senate, it passed in the negative. *Feb.* 28, 1793.

Formerly, when papers were referred to a committee, they used to be first read; but of late only the titles, unless a member insists they shall be read, and then nobody can oppose it. 2 *Hats.*, 117.

SEC. XXXIII.—PRIVILEGED QUESTIONS.

[* While a question is before the Senate, no motion shall be received, unless for an amendment, for the previous question, or for postponing the main question, or to commit it, or to adjourn. *Rule* 8.]

It is no possession of a bill unless it be delivered to the Clerk to be read, or the Speaker reads the title. *Lex. Parl.*, 274; *Elsynge Mem.*, 85; *Ord. House of Commons*, 64.

It is a general rule that the question first moved and seconded shall be first put. *Scob.*, 28, 22; 2 *Hats.*, 81. But this rule gives way to what may be called privileged questions; and the privileged questions are of different grades among themselves.

A motion to adjourn simply takes place of all others; for otherwise the House might be kept sitting against its will, and indefinitely. Yet this motion cannot be received after another question is actually put, and while the House is engaged in voting.

Orders of the day take place of all other questions, except

* This rule has been modified so as to specify the questions entitled to preference. The rule is now as follows :

[When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lay on the table, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone to a day certain, to commit, or to amend; which several motions shall have precedence in the order they stand arranged, and the motion for adjournment shall always be in order, and be decided without debate.]

for adjournment—that is to say, the question which is the subject of an order is made a privileged one, *pro hac vice*. The order is a repeal of the general rule as to this special case. When any member moves, therefore, for the order of the day to be read, no further debate is permitted on the question which was before the House; for if the debate might proceed, it might continue through the day and defeat the order. This motion, to entitle it to precedence, must be for the orders generally, and not for any particular one; and if it be carried on the question “Whether the House will now proceed to the orders of the day?” they must be read and proceeded on in the course in which they stand, (2 *Hats.*, 83;) for priority of order gives priority of right, which cannot be taken away but by another special order.

After these there are other privileged questions, which will require considerable explanation.

It is proper that every parliamentary assembly should have certain forms of questions, so adapted as to enable them fitly to dispose of every proposition which can be made to them. Such are, 1. The previous question. 2. To postpone indefinitely. 3. To adjourn a question to a definite day. 4. To lie on the table. 5. To commit. 6. To amend. The proper occasion for each of these questions should be understood.

1. When a proposition is moved which it is useless or inexpedient now to express or discuss, the previous question has been introduced for suppressing for that time the motion and its discussion. 3 *Hats.*, 188, 189.

2. But as the previous question gets rid of it only for that day, and the same proposition may recur the next day, if they wish to suppress it for the whole of that season, they postpone it indefinitely. 3 *Hats.*, 183. This quashes the proposition for that session, as an indefinite adjournment is a dissolution, or the continuance of a suit *sine die* is a discontinuance of it.

3. When a motion is made which it will be proper to act on, but information is wanted, or something more pressing

claims the present time, the question or debate is adjourned to such day within the session as will answer the views of the House. 2 *Hats.*, 81. And those who have spoken before may not speak again when the adjourned debate is resumed. 2 *Hats.*, 73. Sometimes, however, this has been abusedly used by adjourning it to a day beyond the session, to get rid of it altogether, as would be done by an indefinite postponement.

4. When the House has something else which claims its present attention, but would be willing to reserve in their power to take up a proposition whenever it shall suit them, they order it to lie on their table. It may then be called for at any time.

If the proposition will want more amendment and digestion than the formalities of the House will conveniently admit, they refer it to a committee.

6. But if the proposition be well digested, and may need but few and simple amendments, and especially if these be of leading consequence, they then proceed to consider and amend it themselves.

The Senate, in their practice, vary from this regular gradation of forms. Their practice comparatively with that of Parliament stands thus:

FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY,	THE SENATE USES:
Postponement indefinite,	Postponement to a day beyond the session. \
Adjournment,	Postponement to a day within the session.
Lying on the table.	{ Postponement indefinite. { Lying on the table.

In their eighth rule, therefore, which declares that while a question is before the Senate no motion shall be received, unless it be for the previous question, or to postpone, commit, or amend the main question, the term postponement must be understood according to their broad use of it, and not in

the parliamentary sense. Their rule, then, establishes as privileged questions the previous question, postponement, commitment, and amendment.

But it may be asked, Have these questions any privilege among themselves? or are they so equal that the common principle of the "first moved first put" takes place among them? This will need explanation. Their competitions may be as follows :

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Previous question and postpone | } | In the first, second, and | |
| commit | | | third classes, and the |
| amend | | | first member of the |
| 2. Postpone and previous question | } | fourth class, the rule | |
| commit | | | "first moved first put" |
| amend | | | takes place. |
| 3. Commit and previous question | } | | |
| postpone | | | |
| amend | | | |
| 4. Amend and previous question | } | | |
| postpone | | | |
| commit | | | |

In the first class, where the previous question is first moved, the effect is peculiar; for it not only prevents the after motion to postpone or commit from being put to question before it, but also from being put after it; for if the previous question be decided affirmatively, to wit, that the main question shall *now* be put, it would of course be against the decision to postpone or commit; and if it be decided negatively, to wit, that the main question shall not now be put, this puts the House out of possession of the main question, and consequently there is nothing before them to postpone or commit. So that neither voting for nor against the previous question will enable the advocates for postponing or committing to get at their object. Whether it may be amended shall be examined hereafter.

Second class. If postponement be decided affirmatively, the proposition is removed from before the House, and con-

sequently there is no ground for the previous question, commitment, or amendment; but if decidedly negatively, (that it shall not be postponed,) the main question may then be suppressed by the previous question, or may be committed, or amended.

The third class is subject to the same observations as the second.

The fourth class. Amendment of the main question first moved, and afterwards the previous question, the question of amendment shall be first put.

Amendment and postponement competing, postponement is first put, as the equivalent proposition to adjourn the main question would be in Parliament. The reason is, that the question for amendment is not suppressed by postponing or adjourning the main question, but remains before the House whenever the main question is resumed; and it might be that the occasion for other urgent business might go by, and be lost by length of debate on the amendment, if the House had it not in their power to postpone the whole subject.

Amendment and commitment. The question for committing, though last moved, shall be first put; because, in truth, it facilitates and befriends the motion to amend. *Scobell* is express: "On motion to amend a bill, any one may notwithstanding move to commit it, and the question for commitment shall be first put." *Scob.*, 46.

We have hitherto considered the case of two or more of the privileged questions contending for privilege between themselves, when both are moved on the original or main question; but now let us suppose one of them to be moved, not on the original primary question, but on the secondary one, *e. g.*

Suppose a motion to postpone, commit, or amend the main question, and that it be moved to suppress that motion by putting a previous question on it. This is not allowed, because it would embarrass questions too much to allow them to be piled on one another several stories high; and

the same result may be had in a more simple way—by deciding against the postponement, commitment, or amendment. 2 *Hats.*, 81, 2, 3, 4.

Suppose a motion for the previous question, or commitment or amendment of the main question, and that it be then moved to postpone the motion for the previous question, or for commitment or amendment of the main question. 1. It would be absurd to postpone the previous question, commitment, or amendment, alone, and thus separate the appendage from its principal; yet it must be postponed separately from its original, if at all, because the eighth rule of Senate says that when a main question is before the house no motion shall be received but to commit, amend, or pre-question the original question, which is the parliamentary doctrine also, therefore the motion to postpone the secondary motion for the previous question, or for committing or amending, cannot be received. 2. This is a piling of questions one on another; which, to avoid embarrassment, is not allowed. 3. The same result may be had more simply by voting against the previous question, commitment, or amendment.

Suppose a commitment moved of a motion for the previous question, or to postpone, or amend. The first, second, and third reasons, before stated, all hold good against this.

Suppose an amendment moved to a motion for the previous question. Answer: the previous question cannot be amended. Parliamentary usage, as well as the ninth rule of the Senate, has fixed its form to be, "Shall the main question be now put?"—i. e., at this instant; and as the present instant is but one, it can admit of no modification. To change it to tomorrow, or any other moment, is without example and without utility. But suppose a motion to amend a motion for postponement, as to one day instead of another, or to a special instead of an indefinite time. The useful character of amendment gives it a privilege of attaching itself to a secondary and privileged motion: that is, we may amend a postponement of a main question. So, we may amend a commitment of a main

question, as by adding, for example, "with instructions to inquire," &c. In like manner, if an amendment be moved to an amendment, it is admitted; but it would not be admitted in another degree, to wit, to amend an amendment to an amendment of a main question. This would lead to too much embarrassment. The line must be drawn somewhere, and usage has drawn it after the amendment to the amendment. The same result must be sought by deciding against the amendment to the amendment, and then moving it again as it was wished to be amended. In this form it becomes only an amendment to an amendment.

[When motions are made for reference of the same subject to a select committee and to a standing committee, the question on reference to the standing committee shall be first put. Rule 35.]

[In filling a blank with a sum, the largest sum shall be first put to the question, by the thirteenth rule of the Senate,*] contrary to the rule of Parliament, which privileges the smallest sum and longest time. 5 *Grey*, 179; 2 *Hats.*, 8, 83; 3 *Hats.*, 132, 133. And this is considered to be not in the form of an amendment to the question, but as alternative or successive originals. In all cases of time or number, we must consider whether the larger comprehends the lesser, as in a question to what day a postponement shall be, the number of a committee, amount of a fine, term of an imprisonment, term of irredeemability of a loan, or the *terminus in quem* in any other case; then the question must begin *a maximo*. Or whether the lesser includes the greater, as in questions on the limitation of the rate of interest, on what day the session shall be closed by adjournment, on what day the next shall commence, when an act shall commence, or the *terminus a quo* in any other case where the question must begin *a minimo*: the object being not to begin at that extreme which, and more, being within every man's wish, no one could

[* In filling up blanks, the largest sum and longest time shall be first put. Rule 13.]

negative it, and yet, if he should vote in the affirmative, every question for more would be precluded; but at that extreme which would unite few, and then to advance or recede till you get to a number which will unite a bare majority. 3 *Grey*, 376, 384, 385. "The fair question in this case is not that to which and more all will agree, but whether there shall be addition to the question." 1 *Grey*, 365.

Another exception to the rule of priority is when a motion has been made to strike out or agree to a paragraph. Motions to amend it are to be put to the question before a vote is taken on striking out or agreeing to the whole paragraph.

But there are several questions which, being incidental to every one, will take place of every one, privileged or not, to wit, a question of order arising out of any other question must be decided before that question. 2 *Hats.*, 88.

A matter of privilege arising out of any question, or from a quarrel between two members, or any other cause, supersedes the consideration of the original question, and must be first disposed of. 2 *Hats.*, 88.

Reading papers relative to the question before the House. This question must be put before the principal one. 2 *Hats.*, 88.

Leave asked to withdraw a motion. The rule of Parliament being that a motion made and seconded is in the possession of the House, and cannot be withdrawn without leave, the very terms of the rule imply that leave may be given, and, consequently, may be asked and put to the question.

SEC. XXXIV.—THE PREVIOUS QUESTION.

When any question is before the House, any member may move a previous question, "Whether that question (called the main question) shall now be put?" If it pass in the affirmative, then the main question is to be put immediately, and no man may speak anything further to it, either to add or alter. *Memor. in Hakew.*, 28; 4 *Grey*, 27.

The previous question being moved and seconded, the question from the Chair shall be, "Shall the main question be now

put?" and if the nays prevail, the main question shall not then be put.

This kind of question is understood by Mr. Hatsell to have been introduced in 1604. 2 *Hats.*, 80. Sir Henry Vane introduced it. 2 *Grey*, 113, 114; 3 *Grey*, 384. When the question was put in this form, "Shall the main question be put?" a determination in the negative suppressed the main question during the session; but since the words "now put" are used, they exclude it for the present only: formerly, indeed, only till the present debate was over, (4 *Grey* 43,) but now for that day and no longer. 2 *Grey*, 113, 114.

Before the question "Whether the main question shall now be put?" any person might formerly have spoken to the main question, because otherwise he would be precluded from speaking to it at all. *Mem. in Hakew.*, 28.

The proper occasion for the previous question, is when a subject is brought forward of a delicate nature as to high personages, &c., or the discussion of which may call forth observations which might be of injurious consequences. Then the previous question is proposed: and in the modern usage, the discussion of the main question is suspended, and the debate confined to the previous question. The use of it has been extended abusively to other cases; but in these it has been an embarrassing procedure: its uses would be as well answered by other more simple parliamentary forms, and therefore it should not be favored, but restricted within as narrow limits as possible.

Whether a main question may be amended after the previous question on it has been moved and seconded? 2 *Hats.*, 88, says, if the previous question has been moved and seconded, and also proposed from the Chair, (by which he means stated by the Speaker for debate,) it has been doubted whether an amendment can be admitted to the main question. He thinks it may, after the previous question moved and seconded; but not after it has been proposed from the Chair. In this case, he thinks the friends to the amendment must vote that

the main question be not now put ; and then move their amended question, which being made new by the amendment, is no longer the same which has been just suppressed, and therefore may be proposed as a new one. But this proceeding certainly endangers the main question, by dividing its friends, some of whom may choose it unamended, rather than lose it altogether ; while others of them may vote, as Hatsell advises, that the main question be not now put with a view to move it again in an amended form. The enemies of the main question, by this manœuvre to the previous question, get the enemies to the amendment added to them on the first vote, and throw the friends of the main question under the embarrassment of rallying again as they can. To support his opinion, too, he makes the deciding circumstance, whether an amendment may or may not be made, to be, that the previous question has been proposed from the Chair. But, as the rule is that the House is in possession of a question as soon as it is moved and seconded, it cannot be more than possessed of it by its being also proposed from the Chair. It may be said, indeed, that the object of the previous question being to get rid of a question, which it is not expedient should be discussed, this object may be defeated by moving to amend, and, in the discussion of that motion, involving the subject of the main question. But so may the object of the previous question be defeated, by moving the amended question, as Mr. Hatsell proposes, after the decision against putting the original question. He acknowledges, too, that the practice has been to admit previous amendments, and only cites a few late instances to the contrary. On the whole, I should think it best to decide it *ad inconvenienti*, to wit : which is most inconvenient, to put it in the power of one side of the House to defeat a proposition by hastily moving the previous question, and thus forcing the main question to be put unamended ; or to put it in the power of the other side to force on, incidentally at least, a discussion which would be better avoided ? Perhaps the last is the least inconvenience ; inasmuch as the

Speaker, by confining the discussion rigorously to the amendment only, may prevent their going into the main question, and inasmuch also as so great a proportion of the cases in which the previous question is called for, are fair and proper subjects of public discussion, and ought not to be obstructed by a formality introduced for questions of a peculiar character.

SEC. XXXV.—AMENDMENTS.

On an amendment being moved, a member who has spoken to the main question may speak again to the amendment. *Scob.*, 23.

If an amendment be proposed inconsistent with one already agreed to, it is a fit ground for its rejection by the House, but not within the competence of the Speaker to suppress as if it were against order; for were he permitted to draw questions of consistence within the vortex of order, he might usurp a negative on important modifications, and suppress, instead of subserving the legislative will.

Amendments may be made so as totally to alter the nature of the proposition; and it is a way of getting rid of a proposition, by making it bear a sense different from what it was intended by the movers, so that they vote against it themselves. 2 *Hats.*, 79, 4, 82, 84. A new bill may be ingrafted, by way of amendment, on the words "Be it enacted," &c. 1 *Grey*, 190, 192.

If it be proposed to amend by leaving out certain words, it may be moved, as an amendment to this amendment, to leave out a part of the words of the amendment, which is equivalent to leaving them in the bill. 2 *Hats.*, 80, 9. The parliamentary question is, always, whether the words shall stand part of the bill.

When it is proposed to amend by inserting a paragraph, or part of one, the friends of the paragraph may make it as perfect as they can by amendments before the question is put for inserting it. If it be received, it cannot be amended

afterwards, in the same stage, because the House has, on a vote, agreed to it in that form. In like manner, if it is proposed to amend by striking out a paragraph, the friends of the paragraph are first to make it as perfect as they can by amendments, before the question is put for striking it out. If on the question it be retained, it cannot be amended afterwards, because a vote against striking out is equivalent to a vote agreeing to it in that form.

When it is moved to amend by striking out certain words and inserting others, the manner of stating the question is first to read the whole passage to be amended as it stands at present, then the words proposed to be struck out, next those to be inserted, and lastly the whole passage as it will be when amended. And the question, if desired, is then to be divided, and put first on striking out. If carried, it is next on inserting the words proposed. If that be lost, it may be moved to insert others. 2 *Hats.*, 80, 7.

A motion is made to amend by striking out certain words and inserting others in their place, which is negatived. Then it is moved to strike out the same words, and to insert others of a tenor entirely different from those first proposed. It is negatived. Then it is moved to strike out the same words and insert nothing, which is agreed to. All this is admissible, because to strike out and insert A is one proposition. To strike out and insert B is a different proposition. And to strike out and insert nothing, is still different. And the rejection of one proposition does not preclude the offering a different one. Nor would it change the case were the first motion divided by putting the question first on striking out, and that negatived; for, as putting the whole motion to the question at once would not have precluded, the putting the half of it cannot do it.*

* In the case of a division of the question, and a decision against striking out, I advance doubtingly the opinion here expressed. I find no authority either way, and I know it may be viewed under a different aspect. It may be thought that, having decided separately not to strike out the passage, the same question

But if it had been carried affirmatively to strike out the words and to insert A, it could not afterwards be permitted to strike out A and insert B. The mover of B should have notified, while the insertion of A was under debate, that he would move to insert B ; in which case those who preferred it would join in rejecting A.

After A is inserted, however, it may be moved to strike out a portion of the original paragraph, comprehending A, provided the coherence to be struck out be so substantial as to make this effectively a different proposition ; for then it is resolved into the common case of striking out a paragraph after amending it. Nor does anything forbid a new insertion, instead of A and its coherence.

In Senate, January 25, 1798, a motion to postpone until the second Tuesday in February some amendments proposed to the Constitution ; the words “until the second Tuesday in February,” were struck out by way of amendment. Then it was moved to add, “until the first day of June.” Objected that it was not in order, as the question should be first put on the longest time ; therefore, after a shorter time decided against, a longer cannot be put to question. It was answered that this rule takes place only in filling blanks for time. But when a specific time stands part of a motion, that may be struck out as well as any other part of the motion ; and when struck out, a motion may be received to insert any other. In fact, it is not until they are struck out, and a blank for the time thereby produced, that the rule can begin to operate, by receiving all the propositions for different times, and putting the question successively on the longest. Otherwise it would be in the power of the mover, by inserting originally a short time, to preclude the possibility of a longer ; for till the short time is struck out, you cannot insert a longer ; and if,

for striking out cannot be put over again, though with a view to a different insertion. Still I think it more reasonable and convenient to consider the striking out and insertion as forming one proposition ; but should readily yield to any evidence that the contrary is the practice in Parliament.

after it is struck out, you cannot do it, then it cannot be done at all. Suppose the first motion had been made to amend by striking out "the second Tuesday in February," and inserting instead thereof "the first of June," it would have been regular, then, to divide the question, by proposing first the question to strike out and then that to insert. Now this is precisely the effect of the present proceeding; only, instead of one motion and two questions, there are two motions and two questions to effect it—the motion being divided as well as the question.

When the matter contained in two bills might be better put into one, the manner is to reject the one, and incorporate its matter into another bill, by way of amendment. So if the matter of one bill would be better distributed into two, any part may be struck out by way of amendment, and put into a new bill. If a section is to be transposed, a question must be put on striking it out where it stands, and another for inserting it in the place desired.

A bill passed by the one house with blanks. These may be filled up by the other by way of amendments, returned to the first as such, and passed. 3 *Hats.*, 83.

The number prefixed to the section of a bill, being merely a marginal indication, and no part of the text of the bill, the clerk regulates that—the House or committee is only to amend the text.

SEC. XXXVI.—DIVISION OF THE QUESTION.

If a question contain more parts than one, it may be divided into two or more questions. *Mem. in Hakew.*, 29. But not as the right of an individual member, but with the consent of the House. For who is to decide whether a question is complicated or not?—where it is complicated?—into how many propositions it may be divided? The fact is, that the only mode of separating a complicated question is by moving amendments to it; and these must be decided by the House, on a question, unless the House orders it to be divided;

as, on the question, December 2, 1640, making void the election of the knights for Worcester, on a motion it was resolved to make two questions of it, to wit, one on each knight. 2 *Hats.*, 85, 86. So, wherever there are several names in a question, they may be divided and put one by one. 9 *Grey*, 444. So, 1729, April 17, on an objection that a question was complicated, it was separated by amendment. 2 *Hats.*, 79.

The soundness of these observations will be evident from the embarrassments produced by the 12th rule of the Senate, which says, "if the question in debate contain several points, any member may have the same divided."

1798, May 30, the alien bill in quasi-committee. To a section and proviso in the original had been added two new provisoes by way of amendment. On a motion to strike out the section as amended, the question was desired to be divided. To do this it must be put first on striking out either the former proviso, or some distinct member of the section. But when nothing remains but the last member of the section and the provisoes, they cannot be divided so as to put the last member to question by itself; for the provisoes might thus be left standing alone as exceptions to a rule when the rule is taken away; or the new provisoes might be left to a second question, after having been decided on once before at the same reading, which is contrary to rule. But the question must be on striking out the last member of the section as amended. This sweeps away the exceptions with the rule, and relieves from inconsistency. A question to be divisible, must comprehend points so distinct and entire that one of them being taken away, the other may stand entire. But a proviso or exception, without an enacting clause, does not contain an entire point or proposition.

May 31.—The same bill being before the Senate. There was a proviso that the bill should not extend—1. To any foreign minister; nor, 2. To any person to whom the President should give a passport; nor, 3. To any alien merchant conforming himself to such regulations as the President shall

prescribe; and a division of the question into its simplest elements was called for. It was divided into four parts, the 4th taking in the words "conforming himself," &c. It was objected that the words "any alien merchant" could not be separated from their modifying words, "conforming," &c., because these words, if left by themselves, contain no substantive idea—will make no sense. But admitting that the divisions of a paragraph into separate questions must be so made as that each part may stand by itself, yet the house having, on the question, retained the two first divisions, the words "any alien merchant" may be struck out, and their modifying words will then attach themselves to the preceding description of persons, and become a modification of that description.

When a question is divided, after the question on the 1st member, the 2d is open to debate and amendment; because it is a known rule that a person may rise and speak at any time before the question has been completely decided, by putting the negative as well as affirmative side. But the question is not completely put when the vote has been taken on the first member only. One-half of the question, both affirmative and negative, remains still to be put. See *Execut. Jour.*, June 25, 1795. The same decision by President Adams.

SEC. XXXVII.—CO-EXISTING QUESTIONS.

It may be asked whether the House can be in possession of two motions or propositions at the same time? so that, one of them being decided, the other goes to question without being moved anew? The answer must be special. When a question is interrupted by a vote of adjournment, it is thereby removed from before the House, and does not stand *ipso facto* before them at their next meeting, but must come forward in the usual way. So, when it is interrupted by the order of the day. Such other privileged questions also as

dispose of the main question, (*e. g.* the previous question, postponement, or commitment,) remove it from before the House. But it is only suspended by a motion to amend, to withdraw, to read papers, or by a question of order or privilege, and stands again before the House when these are decided. None but the class of privileged question can be brought forward while there is another question before the House, the rule being that when a motion has been made and seconded, no other can be received, except it be a privileged one.

SEC. XXXVIII.—EQUIVALENT QUESTIONS.

If, on a question for rejection, a bill be retained, it passes, of course, to its next reading. *Hakew.*, 141; *Scob.*, 42. And a question for a second reading determined negatively, is a rejection without further question. 4 *Grey*, 149. And see *Elsynge's Memor.*, 42, in what cases questions are to be taken for rejection.

Where questions are perfectly equivalent, so that the negative of the one amounts to the affirmative of the other, and leaves no other alternative, the decision of the one concludes necessarily the other. 4 *Grey*, 157. Thus the negative of striking out amounts to the affirmative of agreeing; and therefore to put a question on agreeing after that on striking out, would be to put the same question in effect twice over. Not so in questions of amendments between the two houses. A motion to recede being negatived, does not amount to a positive vote to insist, because there is another alternative, to wit, to adhere.

A bill originating in one house is passed by the other with an amendment. A motion in the originating house to agree to the amendment is negatived. Does there result from this a vote of disagreement, or must the question on disagreement be expressly voted? The questions respecting amendments from another house are—1st, to agree; 2d, disagree; 3d, recede; 4th, insist; 5th, adhere.

- 1st. To agree. } Either of these concludes the other ne-
 2d. To disagree. } cessarily, for the positive of either is ex-
 } exactly the equivalent of the negative of the
 } other, and no other alternative remains.
 } On either motion amendments to the
 } amendment may be proposed; *e. g.* if it
 } be moved to disagree, those who are for
 } the amendment have a right to propose
 } amendments, and to make it as perfect as
 } they can, before the question of disagree-
 } ing is put.
- 3d. To recede. } You may then either insist or adhere.
 4th. To insist. } You may then either recede or adhere.
 5th. To adhere. } You may then either recede or insist.
- Consequently the negative of these is not equivalent to a positive vote, the other way. It does not raise so necessary an implication as may authorize the Secretary by inference to enter another vote; for two alternatives still remain, either of which may be adopted by the House.

SEC. XXXIX.—THE QUESTION.

The question is to be put first on the affirmative, and then on the negative side.

After the Speaker has put the affirmative part of the question, any member who has not spoken before to the question, may rise and speak before the negative be put; because it is no full question till the negative part be put. *Scob.*, 23; 2 *Hats.*, 73.

But in small matters, and which are, of course, such as receiving petitions, reports, withdrawing motions, reading papers, &c., the Speaker most commonly supposes the consent of the House where no objection is expressed, and does not give them the trouble of putting the question formally. *Scob.*, 22; 2 *Hats.*, 87, 2, 87; 5 *Grey*, 129; 9 *Grey*, 301.

SEC. XL.—BILLS, THIRD READING.

To prevent bills from being passed by surprise, the House, by a standing order, directs that they shall not be put on their passage before a fixed hour, naming one at which the House is commonly full. *Hakew.*, 153.

[The usage of the Senate is, not to put bills on their passage till noon.]

A bill reported and passed to the third reading, cannot on that day be read the third time and passed; because this would be to pass on two readings in the same day.

At the third reading the Clerk reads the bill and delivers it to the Speaker, who states the title, that it is the third time of reading the bill, and that the question will be whether it shall pass? Formerly the Speaker, or those who prepared a bill, prepared also a breviate or summary statment of its contents, which the Speaker read when he declared the state of the bill, at the several readings. Sometimes, however, he read the bill itself, especially on its passage. *Hakew.*, 136, 137, 153; *Coke*, 22, 115. Latterly, instead of this, he, at the third reading, states the whole contents of the bill verbatim, only, instead of reading the formal parts, "Be it enacted," &c., he states that "preamble recites so and so—the 1st section enacts that, &c.; the 2d section enacts," &c.

[But in the Senate of the United States, both of these formalities are dispensed with; the breviate presenting but an imperfect view of the bill, and being capable of being made to present a false one; and the full statement being a useless waste of time, immediately after a full reading by the Clerk, and especially as every member has a printed copy in his hand.]

A bill on the third reading is not to be committed for the matter or body thereof; but to receive some particular clause or proviso, it hath been sometimes suffered, but as a thing very unusual. *Hakew.*, 126. Thus, 27 *El.*, 1584, a bill was committed on the third reading, having been formerly committed on the second, but is declared not usual. *D'Ewes*, 337, col. 2; 414, col. 2.

When an essential provision has been omitted, rather than erase the bill and render it suspicious, they add a clause on a separate paper, engrossed and called a rider, which is read and put to the question three times. *Elsynge's Memorials*, 59; 6 *Grey*, 335; 1 *Blackst.*, 183. For examples of riders, see 3 *Hats.*, 121, 122, 124, 126. Every one is at liberty to bring in a rider without asking leave. 10 *Grey*, 52.

It is laid down as a general rule, that amendments proposed at the second reading shall be twice read, and those proposed at the third reading thrice read; as also all amendments from the other house. *Town.*, col. 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

It is with great and almost invincible reluctance that amendments are admitted at this reading, which occasion erasures or interlineations. Sometimes a proviso has been cut off from a bill; sometimes erased. 9 *Grey*, 513.

This is the proper stage for filling up blanks; for if filled up before, and now altered by erasure, it would be peculiarly unsafe.

At this reading the bill is debated afresh, and for the most part is more spoken to at this time than on any of the former readings. *Hakew.*, 153.

The debate on the question whether it should be read a third time, has discovered to its friends and opponents the arguments on which each side relies, and which of these appear to have influence with the House; they have had time to meet them with new arguments, and to put their old ones into new shapes. The former vote has tried the strength of the first opinion, and furnished grounds to estimate the issue; and the question now offered for its passage is the last occasion which is ever to be offered for carrying or rejecting it.

When the debate is ended the Speaker, holding the bill in his hand, puts the question for its passage, by saying, "Gentlemen, all you who are of opinion that this bill shall pass, say ay;" and after the answer of the ayes, "All those of the contrary opinion, say no." *Hakew.*, 154.

After the bill is passed, there can be no further alteration of it in any point. *Hakew.*, 159.

SEC. XLI.—DIVISION OF THE HOUSE.

The affirmative and negative of the question having been both put and answered, the Speaker declares whether the yeas or nays have it by the sound, if he be himself satisfied, and it stands as the judgment of the House. But if he be not himself satisfied which voice is the greater, or if before any other member comes into the House, or before any new motion made, (for it is too late after that,) any member shall rise and declare himself dissatisfied with the Speaker's decision, then the Speaker is to divide the House. *Scob.*, 24; 2 *Hats.*, 140.

When the House of Commons is divided, the one party goes forth, and the other remains in the House. This has made it important which go forth and which remain; because the latter gain all the indolent, the indifferent, and inattentive. Their general rule, therefore, is, that those who give their vote for the preservation of the orders of the House, shall stay in; and those who are for introducing any new matter or alteration, or proceeding contrary to the established course, are to go out. But this rule is subject to many exceptions and modifications. 2 *Hats.*, 134; 1 *Rush.*, p. 3, fol. 92; *Scob.*, 43, 52; *Co.*, 12, 116; *D'Ewes*, 505, col. 1; *Mem. in Hakew.*, 25, 29, as will appear by the following statement of who go forth:

Petition that it be received*.....	} Ayes.
Read	
Lie on the table.....	} Noes.
Rejected after refusal to lie on table.....	
Referred to a committee, or further proceeding.....	} Ayes.
Bill, that it be brought in.....	
Read first or second time	} Ayes.
Engrossed or read third time.....	
Proceeding on every other stage.....	
Committed.....	

*Noes. 9 Grey, 365.

To Committee of the Whole.....	Noes.
To a select committee.....	Ayes.
Report of bill to lie on table.....	Noes.
Be <i>now</i> read.....	} Ayes. 30, P. J. 251.
Be taken into consideration three months hence	
Amendments be read a second time.....	Noes.
Clause offered on report of bill be read second time.....	} Ayes.
For receiving a clause..	
With amendments be engrossed.....	} 334. 395.
That a bill be <i>now</i> read a third time.....	
Receive a rider.....	} Noes. 398. 260.
Pass	
Be printed.....	} Ayes. 259.
Committees. That A take the chair.....	
To agree to the whole or any part of re- port	} Noes. 291.
That the House do <i>now</i> resolve into com- mittee	
Speaker. That he now leave the chair, after order to go into committee.....	
That he issue warrant for a new writ.....	
Member. That none be absent without leave.....	} Noes.
Witness. That he be further examined....	
Previous question.....	Noes.
Blanks. That they be filled with the largest sum.....	} Ayes.
Amendments. That words stand part of..	
Lords. That their amendment be read a second time.....	} Noes.
Messenger be received.....	
Orders of day to be now read, if before 2 o'clock.....	} Ayes.
If after 2 o'clock.....	
	Noes.

Adjournment. Till the next sitting day, if	}	Ayes.
before 4 o'clock.....		
If after 4 o'clock.....		Noes.
Over a sitting day, (unless a previous res-	}	Ayes.
olution).....		
Over the 30th of January.....		Noes.
For sitting on Sunday, or any other day not	}	Ayes.
being a sitting day.....		

The one party being gone forth, the Speaker names two tellers from the affirmative and two from the negative side, who first count those sitting in the House and report the number to the Speaker. Then they place themselves within the door, two on each side, and count those who went forth as they come in, and report the number to the Speaker. *Mem. in Hakew.*, 26.

A mistake in the report of the tellers may be rectified after the report made. 2 *Hats.*, 145, *note*.

[But in both houses of Congress all these intricacies are avoided. The ayes first rise, and are counted standing in their places by the President or Speaker. Then they sit, and the noes rise and are counted in like manner.]

[In Senate, if they be equally divided, the Vice President announces his opinion, which decides.]

[The Constitution, however, has directed that "the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal." And again: that in all cases of reconsidering a bill disapproved by the President, and returned with his objections, "the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house respectively."']

[By the 16th and 17th rules of the Senate, when the yeas and nays shall be called for by one-fifth of the members present, each member called upon shall, unless for special reasons he be excused by the Senate, declare openly, and

without debate, his assent or dissent to the question. In taking the yeas and nays, and upon the call of the house, the names of the members shall be taken alphabetically.]

[When the yeas and nays shall be taken upon any question in pursuance of the above rule, no member shall be permitted, under any circumstances whatever, to vote after the decision is announced from the Chair.]

[When it is proposed to take the vote by yeas and nays, the President or Speaker states that "the question is whether, *e. g.*, the bill shall pass—that it is proposed that the yeas and nays shall be entered on the journal. Those, therefore, who desire it, will rise." If he finds and declares that one-fifth have risen, he then states that "those who are of opinion that the bill shall pass, are to answer in the affirmative; those of the contrary opinion in the negative." The clerk then calls over the names alphabetically, notes the yea or nay of each, and gives the list to the President or Speaker, who declares the result. In Senate, if there be an equal division, the Secretary calls on the Vice President and notes his affirmative or negative, which becomes the decision of the house.]

In the House of Commons, every member must give his vote the one way or the other, (*Scob.*, 24,) as it is not permitted to any one to withdraw who is in the House when the question is put, nor is any one to be told in the division who was not in when the question was put. 2 *Hats.*, 140.

This last position is always true when the vote is by yeas and nays; where the negative as well as affirmative of the question is stated by the President at the same time, and the vote of both sides begins and proceeds *pari passu*. It is true also when the question is put in the usual way, if the negative has also been put; but if it has not, the member entering, or any other member, may speak, and even propose amendments, by which the debate may be opened again, and the question be greatly deferred. And as some who have answered ay may have been changed by the new arguments

the affirmative must be put over again. If, then, the member entering may, by speaking a few words, occasion a repetition of a question, it would be useless to deny it on his simple call for it.

While the House is telling, no member may speak or move out of his place; for if any mistake be suspected, it must be told again. *Mem. in Hakew.*, 26; 2 *Hats.*, 143.

If any difficulty arises in point of order during the division, the Speaker is to decide peremptorily, subject to the future censure of the House if irregular. He sometimes permits old experienced members to assist him with their advice, which they do sitting in their seats, covered, to avoid the appearance of debate; but this can only be with the Speaker's leave, else the division might last several hours. 2 *Hats.*, 143.

The voice of the majority decides; for the *lex majoris partis* is the law of all councils, elections, &c., where not otherwise expressly provided. *Hakew.*, 93. But if the House be equally divided, *semper presumatur pro negante*;" that is, the former law is not to be changed but by a majority. *Towns.*, col. 134.

[But in the Senate of the United States, the Vice President decides when the house is divided. *Const. U. S.*, I, 3.]

When from counting the House on a division it appears that there is not a quorum, the matter continues exactly in the state in which it was before the division, and must be resumed at that point on any future day. 2 *Hats.*, 126.

1606, May 1, on a question whether a member having said yea may afterwards sit and change his opinion, a precedent was remembered by the Speaker, of Mr. Morris, attorney of the wards, in 39 *Eliz.*, who in like case changed his opinion. *Mem. in Hakew.*, 27.

SEC. XLII.—TITLES.

After the bill has passed, and not before, the title may be amended, and is to be fixed by a question; and the bill is then sent to the other house.

SEC. XLIII.—RECONSIDERATION.

[When a question has been once made and carried in the affirmative or negative, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move for the reconsideration thereof; but no motion for the reconsideration of any vote shall be in order after a bill, resolution, message, report, amendment, or motion upon which the vote was taken shall have gone out of the possession of the Senate announcing their decision; nor shall any motion for reconsideration be in order unless made on the same day on which the vote was taken, or within the two next days of actual session of the Senate thereafter.* *Rule 20.*]

[1798, Jan. A bill on its second reading being amended, and on the question whether it shall be read a third time negatived, was restored by a decision to reconsider that question. Here the votes of negative and reconsideration, like positive and negative quantities in equation, destroy one another, and are as if they were expunged from the journals. Consequently the bill is open for amendment, just so far as it was the moment preceding the question for the third reading; that is to say, all parts of the bill are open for amendment except those on which votes have been already taken in its present stage. So, also, it may be recommitted.]

[† The rule permitting a reconsideration of a question affixing to it no limitation of time or circumstance, it may be asked whether there is no limitation? If, after the vote, the paper on which it is passed has been parted with, there can be no reconsideration: as if a vote has been for the passage of a bill, and the bill has been sent to the other house. But where the paper remains, as on a bill rejected; when, or under what circumstances, does it cease to be susceptible of reconsideration? This remains to be settled; unless a sense that the right of reconsideration is a right to waste the time

* This part of the rule has been added since the Manual was compiled.

† The rule now fixes a limitation.

of the house in repeated agitations of the same question, so that it shall never know when a question is done with, should induce them to reform this anomalous proceeding.]

In Parliament, a question once carried, cannot be questioned again at the same session, but must stand as the judgment of the House. *Towns.*, col. 67; *Mem. in Hakew.*, 33. And a bill once rejected, another of the same substance cannot be brought in again the same session. *Hakew.*, 158; 6 *Grey*, 392. But this does not extend to prevent putting the same question in different stages of a bill; because every stage of a bill submits the whole and every part of it to the opinion of the House, as open for amendment, either by insertion or omission, though the same amendment has been accepted or rejected in a former stage. So in reports of committees, *e. g.* report of an address, the same question is before the House, and open for free discussion. *Towns.*, col. 26; 2 *Hats.*, 98, 100, 101. So orders of the House, or instructions to committees, may be discharged. So a bill, begun in one house, and sent to the other, and there rejected, may be renewed again in that other, passed and sent back. *Ib.*, 92; 3 *Hats.*, 161. Or if, instead of being rejected, they read it once and lay it aside, or amend it, and put it off a month, they may order in another to the same effect, with the same or a different title. *Hakew.*, 97, 98.

Divers expedients are used to correct the effects of this rule; as, by passing an explanatory act, if anything has been omitted or ill expressed, 3 *Hats.*, 278, or an act to enforce, and make more effectual an act, &c., or to rectify mistakes in an act, &c., or a committee on one bill may be instructed to receive a clause to rectify the mistakes of another. Thus, June 24, 1685, a clause was inserted in a bill for rectifying a mistake committed by a clerk in engrossing a bill of supply. 2 *Hats.*, 194, 6. Or the session may be closed for one, two, three or more days, and a new one commenced. But then all matters depending must be finished, or they fall, and are to begin *de novo*. 2 *Hats.*, 94, 98. Or a part of the subject

may be taken up by another bill, or taken up in a different way. 6 *Grey*, 304, 316.

And in cases of the last magnitude, this rule has not been so strictly and verbally observed as to stop indispensable proceedings altogether. 2 *Hats.*, 92, 98. Thus when the address on the preliminaries of peace in 1782 had been lost by a majority of one, on account of the importance of the question, and smallness of the majority, the same question in substance, though with some words not in the first, and which might change the opinion of some members, was brought on again and carried; as the motives for it were thought to outweigh the objection of form. 2 *Hats.*, 99, 100.

A second bill may be passed to continue an act of the same session, or to enlarge the time limited for its execution. 2 *Hats.*, 95, 98. This is not in contradiction to the first act.

SEC. XLIV.—BILLS SENT TO THE OTHER HOUSE.

[All bills passed in Senate shall, before they are sent to the House of Representatives, be examined by a committee, consisting of three members, whose duty it shall be to examine all bills, amendments, resolutions, or motions, before they go out of the possession of the Senate, and to make report that they are correctly engrossed; which report shall be entered on the journal. *Rule 33.*]

A bill from the other house is sometimes ordered to lie on the table. 2 *Hats.*, 97.

When bills, passed in one house and sent to the other, are grounded on special facts requiring proof, it is usual, either by message or at a conference, to ask the grounds and evidence; and this evidence, whether arising out of papers, or from the examination of witnesses, is immediately communicated. 3 *Hats.*, 48.

SEC. XLV.—AMENDMENTS BETWEEN THE HOUSES.

When either house, *e. g.* the House of Commons, send a bill to the other, the other may pass it with amendments.

The regular progression in this case is, that the commons disagree to the amendment; the lords insist on it; the commons insist on their disagreement; the lords adhere to their amendment; the commons adhere to their disagreement. The term of insisting may be repeated as often as they choose to keep the question open. But the first adherence by either renders it necessary for the other to recede or adhere also; when the matter is usually suffered to fall. 10 *Grey*, 148. Latterly, however, there are instances of their having gone to a second adherence. There must be an absolute conclusion of the subject somewhere, or otherwise transactions between the houses would become endless. 3 *Hats.*, 268, 270. The term of insisting, we are told by Sir John Trevor, was then (1679) newly introduced into parliamentary usage, by the lords. 7 *Grey*, 94. It was certainly a happy innovation, as it multiplies the opportunities of trying modifications which may bring the houses to a concurrence. Either house, however, is free to pass over the term of insisting, and to adhere in the first instance; 10 *Grey*, 146; but it is not respectful to the other. In the ordinary parliamentary course, there are two free conferences, at least, before an adherence. 10 *Grey*, 147.

Either house may recede from its amendment and agree to the bill; or recede from their disagreement to the amendment, and agree to the same absolutely, or with an amendment; for here the disagreement and receding destroy one another, and the subject stands as before the disagreement. *Elsynge*, 23, 27; 9 *Grey*, 476.

But the House cannot recede from, or insist on its own amendment, with an amendment: for the same reason that it cannot send to the other house an amendment to its own act after it has passed the act. They may modify an amendment from the other house by ingrafting an amendment on it, because they have never assented to it; but they cannot amend their own amendment, because they have, on the question, passed it in that form. 9 *Grey*, 363; 10 *Grey*,

240. In Senate, March 29, 1798. Nor where one house has adhered to their amendment, and the other agrees with an amendment, can the first house depart from the form which they have fixed by an adherence.

In the case of a money bill, the lords proposed amendments, become, by delay, confessedly necessary. The commons, however, refused them, as infringing on their privilege as to money bills; but they offered themselves to add to the bill a proviso to the same effect, which had no coherence with the lords' amendments; and urged that it was an expedient warranted by precedent, and not unparliamentary in a case become impracticable, and irremediable in any other way. 3 *Hats.*, 256, 266, 270, 271. But the lords refused, and the bill was lost. 1 *Chand.*, 288. A like case, 1 *Chand.*, 311. So the commons resolved that it is unparliamentary to strike out, at a conference, anything in a bill which hath been agreed and passed by both houses. 6 *Grey*, 274; 1 *Chand.*, 312.

A motion to amend an amendment from the other house, takes precedence of a motion to agree or disagree.

A bill originating in one house is passed by the other with an amendment.

The originating house agrees to their amendment with an amendment. The other may agree to their amendment with an amendment, that being only in the 2d and not the 3d degree; for, as to the amending house, the first amendment with which they passed the bill, is a part of its text; it is the only text they have agreed to. The amendment to that text by the originating house, therefore, is only in the 1st degree, and the amendment to that again by the amending house is only in the 2d, to wit, an amendment to an amendment, and so admissible. Just so, when, on a bill from the originating house, the other, at its second reading makes an amendment; on the third reading this amendment is become the text of the bill, and if an amendment to it be moved, an amendment to that amendment may also be moved, as being only in the 2d degree.

SEC. XLVI.—CONFERENCES.

It is on the occasion of amendments between the houses that conferences are usually asked ; but they may be asked in all cases of difference of opinion between the two houses on matters depending between them. The request of a conference, however, must always be by the house which is possessed of the papers. 3 *Hats.*, 31; 1 *Grey*, 425.

Conferences may be either simple or free. At a conference simply, written reasons are prepared by the house asking it, and they are read and delivered, without debate, to the managers of the other house at the conference; but are not then to be answered. 4 *Grey*, 144. The other house then, if satisfied, vote the reasons satisfactory, or say nothing: if not satisfied, they resolve them not satisfactory, and ask a conference on the subject of the last conference, where they read and deliver, in like manner, written answers to those reasons. 3 *Grey*, 183. They are meant chiefly to record the justification of each house to the nation at large, and to posterity, and in proof that the miscarriage of a necessary measure is not imputable to them. 3 *Grey*, 255. At free conferences, the managers discuss, viva voce and freely, and interchange propositions for such modifications as may be made in a parliamentary way, and may bring the sense of the two houses together. And each party reports in writing to their respective houses the substance of what is said on both sides, and it is entered in their journals. 9 *Grey*, 220; 3 *Hats.*, 280. This report cannot be amended or altered, as that of a committee may be. *Journal Senate*, May 24, 1796.

A conference may be asked, before the house asking it has come to a resolution of disagreement, insisting or adhering. 3 *Hats.*, 269, 341. In which case the papers are not left with the other conferees, but are brought back to be the foundation of the vote to be given. And this is the most reasonable and respectful proceeding; for, as was urged by the lords on a particular occasion, "it is held vain, and below the wisdom

of Parliament, to reason or argue against fixed resolutions, and upon terms of impossibility to persuade." 3 *Hats.*, 226. So the commons say, "an adherence is never delivered at a free conference, which implies debate." 10 *Grey*, 137. And on another occasion the lords made it an objection that the commons had asked a free conference after they had made resolutions of adhering. It was then affirmed, however, on the part of the commons, that nothing was more parliamentary than to proceed with free conferences after adhering, (3 *Hats.*, 269,) and we do in fact see instances of conference, or of free conference, asked after the resolution of disagreeing, 3 *Hats.*, 251, 253, 260, 286, 291, 316, 349; of insisting, *Ib.*, 280, 296, 299, 319, 322, 355; of adhering, 269, 270, 283, 300; and even of a second or final adherence. 3 *Hats.*, 270. And in all cases of conference asked after a vote of disagreement, &c., the conferees of the house asking it are to leave the papers with the conferees of the other; and in one case where they refused to receive them, they were left on the table in the conference chamber. *Ib.*, 271, 317, 323, 354; 10 *Grey*, 146.

After a free conference, the usage is to proceed with free conferences, and not to return again to a conference. 3 *Hats.*, 270; 9 *Grey*, 229.

After a conference denied, a free conference may be asked. 1 *Grey*, 45.

When a conference is asked, the subject of it must be expressed, or the conference not agreed to. *Ord. H. Com.*, 89; 1 *Grey*, 425; 7 *Grey*, 31. They are sometimes asked to inquire concerning an offence or default of a member of the other house. 6 *Grey*, 181; 1 *Chand.*, 304. Or the failure of the other house to present to the King a bill passed by both houses, 8 *Grey*, 302. Or on information received, and relating to the safety of the nation. 10 *Grey*, 171. Or when the methods of Parliament are thought by the one house to have been departed from by the other, a conference is asked to come to a right understanding thereon. 10 *Grey*, 148. So when an unparliamentary message has been sent, instead of

answering it, they ask a conference. 3 *Grey*, 155. Formerly an address or articles of impeachment, or a bill with amendments, or a vote of the House, or concurrence in a vote, or a message from the King, were sometimes communicated by way of conference. 6 *Grey*, 128, 300, 387; 7 *Grey*, 80; 8 *Grey*, 210, 255; 1 *Torbuck's Deb.*, 278; 10 *Grey*, 293; 1 *Chandler*, 49, 287. But this is not the modern practice. 8 *Grey*, 255.

A conference has been asked after the first reading of a bill. 1 *Grey*, 194. This is a singular instance.

SEC. XLVII.—MESSAGES.

Messages between the houses are to be sent only while both houses are sitting. 3 *Hats.*, 15. They are received during debate without adjourning the debate. 3 *Hats.*, 22.

[In Senate the messengers are introduced in any state of business, except, 1. While a question is putting. 2. While the yeas and nays are calling. 3. While the ballots are counting. *Rule 46*. The first case is short: the second and third are cases where any interruption might occasion errors difficult to be corrected. So arranged June 15, 1798.]

In the House of Representatives, as in Parliament, if the House be in committee when a messenger attends, the Speaker takes the chair to receive the message, and then quits it to return into committee, without any question or interruption. 4 *Grey*, 226.

Messengers are not saluted by the members, but by the Speaker of the House. 2 *Grey*, 253, 274.

If messengers commit an error in delivering their message, they may be admitted or called in to correct their message. 4 *Grey*, 41. Accordingly, March 13, 1800, the Senate having made two amendments to a bill from the House of Representatives, their Secretary, by mistake, delivered one only; which being inadmissible by itself, that house disagreed, and notified the Senate of their disagreement. This produced a discovery of the mistake. The Secretary was sent to the

other house to correct his mistake, the correction was received, and the two amendments acted on de novo.

As soon as the messenger, who has brought bills from the other house, has retired, the Speaker holds the bills in his hand, and acquaints the House "that the other house have by their messenger sent certain bills," and then reads their titles, and delivers them to the Clerk, to be safely kept till they shall be called for to be read. *Hakew.*, 178.

It is not the usage for one house to inform the other by what numbers a bill has passed. ' 10 *Grey*, 150. Yet they have sometimes recommended a bill, as of great importance, to the consideration of the house to which it is sent. 3 *Hats.*, 25. Nor when they have rejected a bill from the other house, do they give notice of it; but it passes sub silentio, to prevent unbecoming altercations. 1 *Blackst.*, 183.

[But in Congress the rejection is notified by message to the house in which the bill originated.]

A question is never asked by the one house of the other by way of message, but only at a conference; for this is an interrogatory, not a message. 3 *Grey*, 151, 181.

When a bill is sent by one house to the other, and is neglected, they may send a message to remind them of it. 3 *Hats.*, 25; 5 *Grey*, 154. But if it be mere inattention, it is better to have it done informally, by communications between the speakers or members of the two houses.

Where the subject of a message is of a nature that it can properly be communicated to both houses of Parliament, it is expected that this communication should be made to both on the same day. But where a message was accompanied with an original declaration, signed by the party to which the message referred, its being sent to one house was not noticed by the other, because the declaration, being original, could not possibly be sent to both houses at the same time. 2 *Hats.*, 260, 261, 262.

The King having sent original letters to the commons, afterwards desires they may be returned, that he may communicate them to the lords. 1 *Chandler*, 303.

SEC. XLVIII.—ASSENT.

The house which has received a bill and passed it may present it for the King's assent, and ought to do it, though they have not by message notified to the other their passage of it. Yet the notifying by message is a form which ought to be observed between the two houses from motives of respect and good understanding. 2 *Hats.*, 142. Were the bill to be withheld from being presented to the King, it would be an infringement of the rules of Parliament. *Ib.*

[When a bill has passed both houses of Congress, the house last acting on it notifies its passage to the other, and delivers the bill to the Joint Committee of Enrolment, who see that it is truly enrolled in parchment.] When the bill is enrolled, it is not to be written in paragraphs, but solidly, and all of a piece, that the blanks between the paragraphs may not give room for forgery. 9 *Grey*, 143. [It is then put into the hands of the Clerk of the House of Representatives to have it signed by the Speaker. The Clerk then brings it by way of message to the Senate to be signed by their President. The Secretary of the Senate returns it to the Committee of Enrolment, who present it to the President of the United States. If he approve, he signs, and deposits it among the rolls in the office of the Secretary of State, and notifies by message the house in which it originated that he has approved and signed it; of which that house informs the other by message. If the President disapproves, he is to return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated; who are to enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the President's objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented

to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law. *Const. U. S.*, I, 7.]

[Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill. *Const. U. S.*, I, 7.]

SEC. XLIX.—JOURNALS.

[Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy. *Const.*, I, 5.]

[The proceedings of the Senate, when not acting as in a Committee of the Whole, shall be entered on the journals as concisely as possible, care being taken to detail a true account of the proceedings. Every vote of the Senate shall be entered on the journals, and a brief statement of the contents of each petition, memorial, or paper presented to the Senate, be also inserted on the journal. *Rule 32.*]

[The titles of bills, and such parts thereof, only, as shall be affected by proposed amendments, shall be inserted on the journals. *Rule 31.*]

If a question is interrupted by a vote to adjourn, or to proceed to the orders of the day, the original question is never printed in the journal, it never having been a vote, nor introductory to any vote; but when suppressed by the previous question, the first question must be stated, in order to introduce and make intelligible the second. 2 *Hats.*, 83.

So also when a question is postponed, adjourned, or laid on the table, the original question, though not yet a vote, must

be expressed in the journals ; because it makes part of the vote of postponement, adjourning, or laying it on the table.

Where amendments are made to a question, those amendments are not printed in the journals, separated from the question ; but only the question as finally agreed to by the House. The rule of entering in the journals only what the House has agreed to, is founded in great prudence and good sense ; as there may be many questions proposed, which it may be improper to publish to the world in the form in which they are made. 2 *Hats.*, 85.

[In both houses of Congress, all questions whereon the yeas and nays are desired by one-fifth of the members present, whether decided affirmatively or negatively, must be entered in the journals. *Const.*, I, 5.]

The first order for printing the votes of the House of Commons was October 30, 1685. 1 *Chandler*, 387.

Some judges have been of opinion that the journals of the House of Commons are no records, but only remembrances. But this is not law. *Hob.*, 110, 111 ; *Lex. Parl.*, 114, 115 ; *Jour. H. C.*, Mar. 17, 1592 ; *Hale. Parl.*, 105. For the lords in their house have power of judicature, the commons in their house have power of judicature ; and both houses together have power of judicature ; and the book of the Clerk of the House of Commons is a record, as is affirmed by act of Parl., 6 *H.* 8, c. 16 ; 4 *Inst.*, 23, 24 ; and every member of the House of Commons hath a judicial place. 4 *Inst.*, 15. As records they are open to every person, and a printed vote of either house is sufficient ground for the other to notice it. Either may appoint a committee to inspect the journals of the other, and report what has been done by the other in any particular case. 2 *Hats.*, 261 ; 3 *Hats.*, 27—30. Every member has a right to see the journals, and to take and publish votes from them. Being a record, every one may see and publish them. 6 *Grey*, 118, 119.

On information of a mis-entry or omission of an entry in the journal, a committee may be appointed to examine and rectify it, and report it to the House. 2 *Hats.*, 194, 5.

SEC. L.—ADJOURNMENT.

The two houses of Parliament have the sole, separate, and independent power of adjourning each their respective houses. The King has no authority to adjourn them; he can only signify his desire, and it is in the wisdom and prudence of either house to comply with his requisition, or not, as they see fitting. 2 *Hats.*, 232; 1 *Blackstone*, 186; 5 *Grey*, 122.

[By the Constitution of the United States, a smaller number than a majority may adjourn from day to day. I, 5. But “neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.” I, 5. And in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, the President may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. *Const.*, II, 3.]

A motion to adjourn, simply, cannot be amended, as by adding “to a particular day;” but must be put simply “that this House do now adjourn?” and if carried in the affirmative, it is adjourned to the next sitting day, unless it has come to a previous resolution, “that at its rising it will adjourn to a particular day,” and then the House is adjourned to that day. 2 *Hats.*, 82.

Where it is convenient that the business of the House be suspended for a short time, as for a conference presently to be held, &c., it adjourns during pleasure; 2 *Hats.*, 305; or for a quarter of an hour. 5 *Grey*, 331.

If a question be put for adjournment, it is no adjournment till the Speaker pronounces it. 5 *Grey*, 137. And from courtesy and respect, no member leaves his place till the Speaker has passed on.

SEC. LI.—A SESSION.

Parliament have three modes of separation, to wit: by adjournment, by prorogation or dissolution by the King, or by the efflux of the term for which they were elected. Pro-

rogation or dissolution constitutes there what is called a session ; provided some act has passed. In this case all matters depending before them are discontinued, and at their next meeting are to be taken up de novo, if taken up at all. 1 *Blackst.*, 186. Adjournment, which is by themselves, is no more than a continuance of the session from one day to another, or for a fortnight, a month, &c., ad libitum. All matters depending remain in statu quo, and when they meet again, be the term ever so distant, are resumed without any fresh commencement, at the point at which they were left. 1 *Lev.*, 165 ; *Lex. Parl.*, c. 2 ; 1 *Ro. Rep.*, 29 ; 4 *Inst.*, 7, 27, 28 ; *Hutt.*, 61 ; 1 *Mod.*, 252 ; *Ruffh. Jac. L. Dict. Parliament* ; 1 *Blackst.*, 186. Their whole session is considered in law but as one day, and has relation to the first day thereof. *Bro. Abr. Parliament*, 86.

Committees may be appointed to sit during a recess by adjournment, but not by prorogation. 5 *Grey*, 374 ; 9 *Grey*, 350 ; 1 *Chandler*, 50. Neither house can continue any portion of itself in any parliamentary function, beyond the end of the session, without the consent of the other two branches. When done, it is by a bill constituting them commissioners for the particular purpose.

[Congress separate in two ways only, to wit : by adjournment, or dissolution by the efflux of their time. What, then, constitutes a session with them ? A dissolution closes one session, and the meeting of the new Congress begins another. The Constitution authorizes the President, "on extraordinary occasions, to convene both houses, or either of them." I, 3. If convened by the President's proclamation, this must begin a new session, and of course determine the preceding one to have been a session. So if it meets under the clause of the Constitution, which says, "the Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day." I, 4. This must begin a new session ; for even if the last adjournment was to this day, the act of adjournment is merged in the higher authority of the Constitu-

tion, and the meeting will be under that, and not under their adjournment. So far we have fixed landmarks for determining sessions. In other cases it is declared by the joint vote authorizing the President of the Senate and the Speaker to close the session on a fixed day, which is usually in the following form: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, that the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session by adjourning their respective houses on the — day of —."']

When it was said above that all matters depending before Parliament were discontinued by the determination of the session, it was not meant for judiciary cases, depending before the House of Lords, such as impeachments, appeals and writs of error. These stand continued, of course, to the next session. *Raym.*, 120, 381; *Ruffh. Jack. L. D. Parliament*.

[Impeachments stand, in like manner, continued before the Senate of the United States.]

SECTION LII.—TREATIES.

[The President of the United States has power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. *Const. U. S.*, II, 2.]

[Resolved, that all confidential communications made by the President of the United States to the Senate, shall be, by the members thereof, kept secret; and that all treaties which may hereafter be laid before the Senate shall also be kept secret, until the Senate shall, by their resolution, take off the injunction of secrecy. *Rule 38.*]

Treaties are legislative acts. A treaty is the law of the land. It differs from other laws only as it must have the consent of a foreign nation, being but a contract with respect to that nation. In all countries, I believe, except England, treaties are made by the legislative power; and there also,

if they touch the laws of the land, they must be approved by Parliament. *Ware v. Hayton*, 3 *Dallas' Rep.*, 223. It is acknowledged, for instance, that the King of Great Britain cannot by a treaty make a citizen of an alien. *Vattel*, b. 1, c. 19, sec. 214. An act of Parliament was necessary to validate the American treaty of 1783. And abundant examples of such acts can be cited. In the case of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1712, the commercial articles required the concurrence of Parliament; but a bill brought in for that purpose was rejected. France, the other contracting party, suffered these articles, in practice, to be not insisted on, and adhered to the rest of the treaty. 4 *Russel's Hist. Mod. Europe*, 457; 2 *Smollet*, 242, 246.

[By the Constitution of the United States, this department of legislation is confided to two branches only of the ordinary legislature; the President originating, and the Senate having a negative. To what subjects this power extends, has not been defined in detail by the Constitution; nor are we entirely agreed among ourselves. 1. It is admitted that it must concern the foreign nation party to the contract, or it would be a mere nullity, *res inter alios acta*. 2. By the general power to make treaties, the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those subjects which are usually regulated by treaty, and cannot be otherwise regulated. 3. It must have meant to except out of these the rights reserved to the States; for surely the President and Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole government is interdicted from doing in any way. 4. And also to except those subjects of legislation in which it gave a participation to the House of Representatives. This last exception is denied by some, on that ground that it would leave very little matter for the treaty power to work on. The less the better, say others. The Constitution thought it wise to restrain the Executive and Senate from entangling and embroiling our affairs with those of Europe. Besides, as the negotiations are carried on by the Executive alone, the subjecting to the ratification of the representatives such articles

as are within their participation, is no more inconvenient than to the Senate. But the ground of this exception is denied as unfounded. For examine, *e. g.*, the treaty of commerce with France, and it will be found that, out of 31 articles, there are not more than small portions of two or three of them which would not still remain as subjects of treaties, untouched by these exceptions.]

[Treaties being declared, equally with the laws of the United States, to be the supreme law of the land, it is understood that an act of the legislature alone can declare them infringed and rescinded. This was accordingly the process adopted in the case of France in 1798.]

[It has been the usage for the Executive, when it communicates a treaty to the Senate for their ratification, to communicate also the correspondence of the negotiators. This having been omitted in case of the Prussian treaty, was asked by a vote of the House, of February 12, 1800, and was obtained. And in December, 1800, the convention of that year between the United States and France, with the report of the negotiations by the envoys, but not their instructions, being laid before the Senate, the instructions were asked for, and communicated by the President.]

[The mode of voting on questions of ratification is by nominal call.]

[Whenever a treaty shall be laid before the Senate for ratification, it shall be read a first time for information only; when no mention to reject, ratify, or modify the whole, or any part, shall be received. Its second reading shall be for consideration, and on a subsequent day, when it shall be taken up as in a committee of the whole, and every one shall be free to move a question on any particular article, in this form: "Will the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of this article?" or to propose amendments thereto, either by inserting or by leaving out words, in which last case the question shall be, "Shall the words stand part of the article?" And in every of the said cases, the concurrence of two-thirds of

the Senators present shall be requisite to decide affirmatively. And, when through the whole, the proceedings shall be stated to the house, and questions be again severally put thereon, for confirmation, or new ones proposed, requiring in like manner a concurrence of two-thirds for whatever is retained or inserted.]

[The votes so confirmed shall, by the house, or a committee thereof, be reduced into the form of a ratification, with or without modifications, as may have been decided, and shall be proposed on a subsequent day, when every one shall again be free to move amendments, either by inserting or leaving out words; in which last case the question shall be, "Shall the words stand part of the resolution?" And in both cases the concurrence of two-thirds shall be requisite to carry the affirmative; as well as on the final question to advise and consent to the ratification in the form agreed to. *Rule 37.*]

[When any question may have been decided by the Senate, in which two-thirds of the members present are necessary to carry the affirmative, any member who voted on that side which prevailed in the question, may be at liberty to move for a reconsideration; and a motion for reconsideration shall be decided by a majority of votes. *Rule 44.*]

SEC. LIII.—IMPEACHMENT.

[The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment. *Const. U. S., I, 3.*]

[The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States. But the party convicted shall never-

theless be reliable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law. *Const.*, I, 3.]

[The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. *Const.*, II, 4.]

[The trial of crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury. *Const.*, III, 2.]

These are the provisions of the Constitution of the United States on the subject of impeachments. The following is a sketch of some of the principles and practices of England on the same subject:

Jurisdiction. The lords cannot impeach any to themselves, nor join in the accusation, because they are the judges. *Seld. Judic. in Parl.*, 12, 63. Nor can they proceed against a commoner but on complaint of the commons. *Ib.*, 84. The lords may not, by the law, try a commoner for a capital offence, on the information of the King or a private person, because the accused is entitled to a trial by his peers generally; but on accusation by the House of Commons, they may proceed against the delinquent, of whatsoever degree, and whatsoever be the nature of the offence; for there they do not assume to themselves trial at common law. The commons are then instead of a jury, and the judgment is given on their demand, which is instead of a verdict. So the lords do only judge, but not try the delinquent. *Ib.*, 6, 7. But Wooddeson denies that a commoner can now be charged capitally before the lords, even by the commons; and cites Fitzharris's case, 1681, impeached of high treason, where the lords remitted the prosecution to the inferior court. 8 *Grey's Deb.*, 325-7; *Wooddeson*, 601, 576; 3 *Seld.*, 1610, 1619, 1641; 4 *Blackst.*, 25; 73 *Seld.*, 1604, 1618; 9, 1656.

Accusation. The commons, as the grand inquest of the nation, become suitors for penal justice. 2 *Woodd.*, 597; 6 *Grey*, 356. The general course is to pass a resolution containing a criminal charge against the supposed delinquent,

and then to direct some member to impeach him by oral accusation, at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of the commons. The person signifies that the articles will be exhibited, and desires that the delinquent may be sequestered from his seat, or be committed, or that the peers will take order for his appearance. *Sachev. Trial*, 325; 2 *Woodd.*, 602, 605; *Lords' Journ.*, 3 June, 1701, 101; 1 *Wms.*, 616; 6 *Grey*, 324.

Process. If the party do not appear, proclamations are to be issued, giving him a day to appear. On their return they are strictly examined. If any error be found in them, a new proclamation issues, giving a short day. If he appear not, his goods may be arrested, and they may proceed. *Seld. Jud.*, 98, 99.

Articles. The accusation (articles) of the commons is substituted in place of an indictment. Thus, by the usage of Parliament, in impeachment for writing or speaking, the particular words need not be specified. *Sach. Tr.*, 325; 2 *Woodd.*, 602, 605; *Lords' Journ.*, 3 June, 1701; 1 *Wms.*, 616.

Appearance. If he appears, and the case be capital, he answers in custody: though not if the accusations be general. He is not to be committed but on special accusations. If it be for a misdemeanor only, he answers, a lord in his place, a commoner at the bar, and not in custody, unless, on the answer, the lords find cause to commit him, till he finds sureties to attend, and lest he should fly. *Seld. Jud.*, 98, 99. A copy of the articles is given him, and a day fixed for his answer. *T. Ray.*; 1 *Rushw.*, 268; *Fost.*, 232; 1 *Clar. Hist. of the Reb.*, 379. On a misdemeanor, his appearance may be in person, or he may answer in writing, or by attorney. *Seld. Jud.*, 100. The general rule on accusation for a misdemeanor, is, that in such a state of liberty or restraint as the party is when the commons complain of him, in such he is to answer. *Ib.*, 101. If previously committed by the commons, he answers as a prisoner. But this may be called in some sort *judicium parium suorum*. *Ib.* In misdemeanors the party has a right to counsel by the common law. but not in capital cases. *Seld. Jud.*, 102-5.

Answer. The answer need not observe great strictness of form. He may plead guilty as to part, and defend as to the residue; or, saving all exceptions, deny the whole or give a particular answer to each article separately. 1 *Rush.*, 274; 2 *Rush.*, 1374; 12 *Parl. Hist.*, 442; 3 *Lords' Journ.*, 13 Nov., 1643; 2 *Woodd.*, 607. But he cannot plead a pardon in bar to the impeachment. 2 *Woodd.*, 615; 2 *St. Tr.*, 735.

Replication, rejoinder, &c. There may be a replication, rejoinder, &c. *Seld. Jud.*, 114; 8 *Grey's Deb.*, 233; *Sach. Tr.*, 15; *Journ. H. of Commons*, 6 March, 1640, 1.

Witnesses. The practice is to swear the witnesses in open House, and then examine them there; or a committee may be named, who shall examine them in committee, either on interrogatories agreed on in the house, or such as the committee in their discretion shall demand *Seld. Jud.*, 120, 123.

Jury. In the case of Alice Pierce, 1 *R.* 2, a jury was empannelled for her trial before a committee. *Seld. Jud.*, 123. But this was on a complaint, not on impeachment by the commons. *Seld. Jud.*, 163. It must also have been for a misdemeanor only, as the lords spiritual sat in the case, which they do on misdemeanors, but not in capital cases. *Id.*, 148. The judgment was a forfeiture of all her lands and goods. *Id.*, 188. This, Selden says, is the only jury he finds recorded in Parliament for misdemeanors; but he makes no doubt, if the delinquent doth put himself on the trial of his country, a jury ought to be empannelled, and he adds that it is not so on impeachment by the commons; for they are in loco proprio, and there no jury ought to be empannelled. *Id.*, 124. The *Ld. Berkeley*, 6 *E.* 3, was arraigned for the murder of *L.* 2, on an information on the part of the King, and not on impeachment of the commons; for then they had been *patria sua*. He waived his peerage, and was tried by a jury of Gloucestershire and Warwickshire. *Id.*, 125. In 1 *H.* 7, the commons protest that they are not to be considered as parties to any judgment given, or hereafter to be given, in Par-

liament. *Id.*, 133. They have been generally and more justly considered, as is before stated, as the grand jury ; for the conceit of Selden is certainly not accurate, and they are the patria sua of the accused, and that the lords do only judge, but not try. It is undeniable that they do try ; for they examine witnesses as to the facts, and acquit or condemn, according to their own belief of them. And Lord Hale says, “the peers are judges of law as well as of fact ; 2 *Hale, P. C.*, 275 ; consequently of fact as well as of law.

Presence of commons. The commons are to be present at the examination of witnesses. *Seld. Jud.*, 124. Indeed, they are to attend throughout, either as a committee of the whole house, or otherwise, at discretion, appoint managers to conduct the proofs. *Rushw. Tr. of Straff.*, 37 ; *Com. Journ.*, 4 Feb., 1709-10 ; 2 *Woodd.*, 614. And judgment is not to be given till they demand it. *Seld. Jud.*, 124. But they are not to be present on impeachment when the lords consider of the answer of proofs and determine of their judgment. Their presence, however, is necessary at the answer and judgment in cases capital (*Id.*, 58, 159) as well as not capital ; 162. The lords debate the judgment among themselves. Then the vote is first taken on the question of guilty or not guilty ; and if they convict, the question, or particular sentence, is out of that which seemeth to be most generally agreed on. *Seld. Jud.*, 167 ; 2 *Woodd.*, 612.

Judgment. Judgments in Parliament, for death, have been strictly guided per legem terræ, which they cannot alter ; and not at all according to their discretion. They can neither omit any part of the legal judgment, nor add to it. Their sentence must be secundum, non ultra legem. *Seld. Jud.*, 168-171. This trial, though it varies in external ceremony, yet differs not in essentials from criminal prosecutions before inferior courts. The same rules of evidence, the same legal notions of crimes and punishments, prevailed ; for impeachments are not framed to alter the law, but to carry it into more effectual execution against two powerful delinquents.

The judgment, therefore, is to be such as is warranted by legal principles or precedents. 6 *Sta. Tr.*, 14; 2 *Woodd.*, 611. The chancellor gives judgment in misdemeanors; the lord high steward formerly in cases of life and death. *Seld. Jud.*, 180. But now the steward is deemed not necessary. *Fost.*, 144; 2 *Woodd.*, 613. In misdemeanors the greatest corporal punishment hath been imprisonment. *Seld. Jud.*, 184. The King's assent is necessary in capital judgments, (but 2 *Woodd.*, 614, contra,) but not in misdemeanors. *Seld. Jud.*, 136.

Continuance. An impeachment is not discontinued by the dissolution of Parliament, but may be resumed by the new Parliament. *T. Ray.*, 383; 4 *Com. Journ.*, 23 Dec., 1790; *Lords' Jour.*, May 15. 1791; 2 *Woodd.*, 618.

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RULES AND ORDERS
OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AS IN FORCE
DURING THE SECOND SESSION
OF
THE THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

STANDING RULES AND ORDERS

FOR CONDUCTING BUSINESS IN

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

TOUCHING THE DUTY OF THE SPEAKER.

1. He shall take the chair every day precisely at the hour to which the House shall have adjourned on the preceding day ; shall immediately call the members to order ; and on the appearance of a quorum, shall cause the journal of the preceding day to be read.—*April 7, 1789.*

2. He shall preserve order and decorum ; may speak to points of order in preference to other members, rising from his seat for that purpose ; and shall decide questions of order, subject to an appeal to the House by any two members—*April 7, 1789 ; on which appeal no member shall speak more than once, unless by leave of the House.*—December 23, 1811.*

3. He shall rise to put a question, but may state it sitting.—*April 7, 1789.*

4. Questions shall be distinctly put in this form, to wit : “As many as are of opinion that (as the question may be) say *Ay* ;” and after the affirmative voice is expressed, “As many as are of the contrary opinion, say *No*.” If the Speaker

* Difficulties have often arisen as to a supposed discrepancy between the appeal contemplated in this rule and that referred to in rule 35. There is no discrepancy. The question of order mentioned in the second rule relates to motions or propositions, their applicability or relevancy, or their admissibility on the score of time, or in the order of business, &c. The “call to order” mentioned in rule 35, on which, in case of an appeal, there can be no debate, has reference only to “transgressions of the rules in speaking,” or to indecorum of any kind. See also rule 51, in which debate on an appeal, pending a call for the previous question, is prohibited.

doubt, or a division be called for, the House shall divide : those in the affirmative of the question shall first rise from their seats, and afterwards those in the negative :* If the Speaker still doubt, or a count be required, the Speaker shall name two members, one from each side, to tell the members in the affirmative and negative ; which being reported, he shall rise and state the decision of the House.—*April 7, 1789.* No division and count of the House by tellers shall be in order, but upon motion seconded by at least one-fifth of a quorum of the members.—*September 15, 1837.*

5. When any motion or proposition is made, the question, “Will the House now consider it?” shall not be put unless it is demanded by some member, or is deemed necessary by the Speaker.—*December 12, 1817.*

6. The Speaker shall examine and correct the Journal before it is read. He shall have a general direction of the hall. He shall have a right to name any member to perform the duties of the Chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment.—*December 23, 1811.*

7. All committees shall be appointed by the Speaker, unless otherwise specially directed by the House, in which case they shall be appointed by ballot;† and if upon such ballot the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the House shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail ; and in case a greater number than is required to compose or complete a committee

*The manner of dividing the House, as originally established by the rule of April 17, 1789, was, that the members who voted in the affirmative went to the right of the Chair, those in the negative to the left. This was, doubtless, taken from the old practice of the House of Commons of England. The passing of the members to and fro across the House was found so inconvenient, and took up so much time, that the mode of dividing the House was, on the 9th of June, 1789, changed to the present form : the members of each side of the question rising in their seats and being there counted.

†The rule as originally adopted, April 17, 1789, directed that the Speaker should appoint all committees, unless the number was directed to consist of more than three members ; in which case, the ballot was to be resorted to.

shall have an equal number of votes, the House shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots.—*January 13, 1790.*

8. The first named member of any committee shall be the chairman; and in his absence, or being excused by the House, the next named member, and so on, as often as the case shall happen, unless the committee, by a majority of their number, elect a chairman.*—*December 28, 1805.*

9. Any member may excuse himself from serving on any committee at the time of his appointment, if he is then a member of two other committees.—*April 13, 1789.*

10. It shall be the duty of a committee to meet on the call of any two of its members, if the chairman be absent, or decline to appoint such meeting.—*December 20, 1805.*

11. In all other cases of ballot than for committees, a majority of the votes given shall be necessary to an election; and where there shall not be such a majority on the first ballot the ballots shall be repeated until a majority be obtained.—*April 7, 1789.* And in all ballotings blanks shall be rejected, and not taken into the count in enumeration of votes, or reported by the tellers.—*September 15, 1837.*

* The occasion of this rule was this: Mr. John Cotton Smith, of Connecticut, had been chairman of the Committee of Claims for several years, and on the 5th November, 1804, was reappointed. On the succeeding day he was excused from service on the committee, and his colleague, Samuel W. Dana, was appointed "in his stead." The committee considered Mr. Dana its chairman: he declined to act, contending that he was the tail. Being unable to agree, the committee laid the case before the House on the 20th November. Up to this time, there was no rule or regulation as to the head of a committee. The usage had been that the first named member acted; but it was usage only. The subject was referred to a committee. On the 22d November, 1804, the committee reported, and recommended that the first named member be the chairman; and in case of his absence, or of his being excused by the House, the committee should appoint a chairman by a majority of its votes. The House rejected this proposition. The Committee of Claims the next day notified the House, that, unless some order was taken in the premises, no business could be done by the committee during the session; and thereupon, on the 20th December, 1805, the House adopted the above rule. In this case the Committee of Claims availed itself of the privilege contained in the last clause of the rule, and elected Mr. Dana chairman, much against his wishes.

12. In all cases of ballot* by the House, the Speaker shall vote; in other cases he shall not be required to vote, unless the House be equally divided, or unless his vote, if given to the minority, will make the division equal; and in case of such equal division, the question shall be lost.†—*April 7, 1789.*

13. In all cases where other than members of the House may be eligible to an office by the election of the House, there shall be a previous nomination.—*April 7, 1789.*

14. In all cases of election by the House of its officers, the vote shall be taken *viva voce*.—*December 10, 1839.*

15. All acts, addresses, and joint resolutions, shall be signed by the Speaker; and all writs, warrants, and subpoenas, issued by order of the House, shall be under his hand and seal, attested by the Clerk.—*November 13, 1794.*

16. In case of any disturbance or disorderly conduct in the galleries or lobby, the Speaker (or chairman of the Committee of the Whole House) shall have power to order the same to be cleared.—*March 14, 1794.*

17. No person, except members of the Senate, their Secretary, Heads of Departments, Treasurer, Comptrollers, Registers, Auditors, President's Secretary, Chaplains to Congress, Judges of the United States, Foreign Ministers and their secretaries, officers who, by name, have received, or shall hereafter receive, the thanks of Congress for their gallantry and good conduct displayed in the service of their country, the

* The word here used in the original formation of the rule was *election*. On the 14th January, 1840, it was changed to the word *ballot*

† On a very important question, taken December 9, 1803, on an amendment to the Constitution, so as to change the form of voting for President and Vice President, which required a vote of two-thirds, there appeared eighty-three in the affirmative, and forty-two in the negative; it wanted one vote in the affirmative to make the constitutional majority. The Speaker, (Macon,) notwithstanding this prohibition of the rule, claimed and obtained his right to vote, and voted in the affirmative; and it was by that vote that the amendment to the Constitution was carried. The right of the Speaker, as a member of the House, to vote on all questions is secured by the Constitution. No act of the House can take it from him when he chooses to exercise it.

Governor, for the time being, of any State or Territory in the Union, such gentlemen as have been heads of departments or members of either branch of the National legislature, the members of the legislatures, for the time being, of the States and Territories, *January 14, 1850*; and, at the discretion of the Speaker, persons who belong to such legislatures of *foreign* governments as are in *amity* with the United States, shall be admitted within the hall of the House of Representatives;* and no person not known to the doorkeeper to be entitled to the privilege of the floor, shall enter the hall, unless the doorkeeper shall be informed by a member that the individual is entitled to admission under this rule, and in what capacity.—*January 14, 1850*. And a book shall be provided by the doorkeeper, in which shall be registered the

* The first rule for the admission within the hall of other than members was adopted on the 7th January, 1802, and was confined to "*Senators, officers of the General and State governments, Foreign Ministers, and such persons as members might introduce.*" On the 11th January, 1802, an attempt was made to amend so as to exclude persons "*introduced by members,*" which failed. On the 8th November, 1804, a proposition was made to confine the privilege to *Senators*; which also failed. On the 17th December, 1805, *officers of State governments* were excluded. On the 1st February, 1808, a proposition was made to admit ex-members of Congress and the Judges of the Supreme Court. After a good deal of debate, it was rejected. On the 11th February, 1809, the rule was enlarged so as to admit judicial officers of the United States, as also ex-members of Congress. On the 25th February, 1814, those who had been heads of departments were admitted. On the 10th February, 1815, officers who had received the thanks of Congress were included. On the 12th January, 1816, the Navy Commissioners. On the 21st February, 1816, Governors of States and Territories. March 13, 1822, the President's secretary. On the 26th January, 1833, the rule was further enlarged by admitting "*such persons as the Speaker or a member might introduce;*" and on the 10th December, 1833, the House, by a vote almost unanimous, rescinded that amendment. It has undergone no amendment since.

This rule has been much abused by admitting members of State legislatures, under the clause relating to legislatures of *foreign* governments. To show how little ground there is for this construction, the House, on the 26th December, 1821, and 2d January, 1835, rejected motions to admit members of State legislatures. On the 4th January, 1819, a proposition to admit members of Congress elect was rejected.

names of all persons, other than members of Congress, who may apply for admission upon the floor of the House, setting forth by virtue of what position such privilege is claimed.—*December 20, 1853.*

18. Stenographers, wishing to take down the debates, may be admitted by the Speaker, who shall assign such places to them, on the floor or elsewhere, to effect their object, as shall not interfere with the convenience of the House.—*January 7, 1802; modified to present form, December 23, 1811.*

19. No person shall be allowed the privilege of the hall, under the character of stenographer, without a written permission from the Speaker, specifying the part of the hall assigned to him; and no reporter or stenographer shall be admitted, under the rules of the House, unless such reporter or stenographer shall state, in writing, for what paper or papers he is employed to report.—*March 1, 1838.* And no person shall be admitted, under the rules of the House, as a reporter or stenographer for any paper or papers, who shall be employed as an agent to prosecute any claim pending before Congress; and the Speaker shall give his written permission with this condition; and not more than one reporter or stenographer shall be assigned the same seat.—*December 13, 1852.*

20. The doorkeeper shall execute strictly the 17th and 18th rules, relative to the privilege of the hall.—*March 1, 1838.*

21. The Clerk of the House shall take an oath for the true and faithful discharge of the duties of his office, to the best of his knowledge and abilities.—*April 13, 1789, and act June 1, 1789.* He shall be deemed to continue in office until another be appointed.*—*March 1, 1791.*

* There is no law, resolution, rule, or order directing the appointment of the Clerk of the House. On the 1st of April, 1789, being the first day that a quorum of the House assembled under the new Constitution, the House immediately elected a Clerk by ballot, without a previous order having been passed for that purpose; although in the case of a Speaker who was chosen on the same day, an order was previously adopted. A Clerk has been regularly chosen at the commencement of every Congress since.

ORDER OF BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

22. After six days from the commencement of a second or subsequent session of any Congress, all bills, resolutions,* and reports which originated in the House, and at the close of the next preceding session remained undetermined, shall be resumed and acted on in the same manner as if an adjournment had not taken place.—*March 17, 1848.*

ORDER OF BUSINESS OF THE DAY.

23. As soon as the journal is read, reports from committees shall be called for and disposed of—in doing which, the Speaker shall call upon each standing committee in the order they are named in the 76th and 104th rules ; and when all the standing committees shall have been called on, then it shall be the duty of the Speaker to call for reports from select committees ; if the Speaker shall not get through the call upon the committees before the House passes to other business, he shall resume the next call where he left off.†

24. ‡ Members having petitions and memorials to present may hand them to the Clerk, endorsing the same with their names, and the reference or disposition to be made thereof ; and such petitions and memorials shall be entered on the journal, subject to the control and direction of the Speaker ; and if any petition or memorial be so handed in, which, in the judgment of the Speaker, is excluded by the rules, the same shall be returned to the member from whom it was received.—*March 29, 1842.*

* The word “*resolutions*,” as here used, has been construed to apply to joint resolutions only.

† In resuming the call upon committees, according to the practice for several years past, the report last under consideration, provided a motion to commit is pending, is first to be considered.

‡ So much of the rules as authorized the calling of the States for petitions was struck out on the 12th December, 1853 ; and the 23d, 24th, and 25th rules are modified accordingly.

25. Reports from committees having been presented and disposed of, the Speaker shall call for resolutions from the members of each State and delegates from each Territory, beginning with Maine and the Territory of Wisconsin* alternately; they shall not be debated on the very day of their being presented; nor on any day assigned by the House for the receipt of resolutions, unless where the House shall direct otherwise, but shall lie on the table to be taken up in the order in which they were presented; and if on any day the whole of the States and Territories shall not be called, the Speaker shall begin on the next day where he left off the previous day; provided that no member shall offer more than one resolution, or one series of resolutions, all relating to the same subject, until all the States and Territories shall have been called.—*January 14, 1829.*

26. All the States and Territories shall be called for resolutions on each alternate Monday during each session of Congress; and, if necessary to secure the object on said days, all resolutions which shall give rise to debate shall lie over for discussion, under the rules of the House already established: and the whole of said days shall be appropriated to resolutions, until all the States and Territories are called through.—*February 6, 1838.*

27. After one hour shall have been devoted to reports from committees and resolutions, it shall be in order, pending the consideration or discussion thereof, to entertain a motion that the House do now proceed to dispose of the business on the Speaker's table, and to the orders of the day—*January 5, 1832*; which being decided in the affirmative, the Speaker shall dispose of the business on his table in the following order, viz:

1st. Message and other Executive communications.

2d. Messages from the Senate, and amendments proposed by the Senate to bills of the House.

* This rule was adopted while Wisconsin was a Territory; and, although no order has been taken by the House, the Speaker substitutes the Territory last organized.

- 3d. Bills and resolutions from the Senate on their first and second reading, that they be referred to committees and put under way; but if, on being read a second time, no motion being made to commit, they are to be ordered to their third reading, unless objection be made; in which case, if not otherwise ordered by a majority of the House, they are to be laid on the table in the general file of bills on the Speaker's table, to be taken up in their turn.
- 4th. Engrossed bills and bills from the Senate on their third reading.
- 5th. Bills of the House and from the Senate, on the Speaker's table, on their engrossment, or on being ordered to a third reading, to be taken up and considered in the order of time in which they passed to a second reading.

The messages, communications, and bills on his table, having been disposed of, the Speaker shall then proceed to call the orders of the day.—*September 14, 1837.*

28. The business specified in the 26th and 27th rules shall be done at no other part of the day, except by permission of the House.—*December 23, 1811.*

LOCAL OR PRIVATE BUSINESS.

29. Friday and Saturday in every week shall be set apart for the consideration of private bills and private business, in preference to any other, unless otherwise determined by a majority of the House.—*January 22, 1810, and January 26, 1826.**

30. On the first and fourth Friday of each month, the calendar of private bills shall be called over, (the chairman

* Under the rule of 26th April, 1828, relative to a postponement or change of the order of business, it has been decided that it takes *two-thirds* to proceed to public business on Friday and Saturday. The reason of this decision is, that the rule of the 26th April, 1828, made no exception in favor of the clause for a *majority*, contained in this rule; and that therefore that provision was annulled. There have been three appeals upon this point, but the House in all instances affirmed the decision in favor of two-thirds.

of the Committee of the Whole House commencing the call where he left off the previous day,) and the bills to the passage of which no objection shall then be made shall be first considered and disposed of.—*January 25, 1839.*

OF DECORUM AND DEBATE.

31. When any member is about to speak in debate, or deliver any matter to the House, he shall rise from his seat and respectfully address himself to "Mr. Speaker"—*April 7, 1789*; and shall confine himself to the question under debate, and avoid personality.—*December 23, 1811.*

32. Members may address the House or committee from the Clerk's desk, or from a place near the Speaker's chair.

33. When two or more members happen to rise at once, the Speaker shall name the member who is first to speak.—*April 7, 1789.*

34. No member shall occupy more than one hour in debate on any question in the House, or in committee; but a member reporting the measure under consideration from a committee may open and close the debate: provided, that where debate is closed by order of the House, any member shall be allowed, in committee, five minutes to explain any amendment he may offer, after which any member who shall first obtain the floor shall be allowed to speak five minutes in opposition to it, and there shall be no further debate on the amendment; but the same privilege on debate shall be allowed in favor of and against any amendment that may be offered to the amendment; and neither the amendment nor an amendment to the amendment shall be withdrawn by the mover thereof, unless by the unanimous consent of the committee.*—*December 18, 1847.*

*Although this was not finally adopted as a rule of the House until the 7th July, 1841, motions had been repeatedly made to the same effect for about twenty years preceding. In consequence of adopting the rules of the Twenty-sixth Congress at the second session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, the amendments (and this was one) made at the extra session of the Twenty-seventh Congress fell. It was again adopted June 13, 1842.

35. If any member, in speaking or otherwise, transgress the rules of the House, the Speaker shall, or any member may, call to order; in which case, the member so called to order shall immediately sit down, unless permitted to explain; and the House shall, if appealed to, decide on the case, but without debate:* if there be no appeal, the decision of the Chair shall be submitted to. If the decision be in favor of the member called to order, he shall be at liberty to proceed; *if otherwise, he shall not be permitted to proceed, in case any member object, without leave of the House;*† and if the case require it, he shall be liable to the censure of the House.—*April 7, 1789, and March 13, 1822.*

36. If a member be called to order for words spoken in debate, the person calling him to order shall repeat the words excepted to, and they shall be taken down in writing at the Clerk's table; and no member shall be held to answer, or be subject to the censure of the House, for words spoken in debate, if any other member has spoken, or other business has intervened, after the words spoken, and before exception to them shall have been taken.—*September 14, 1837.*

37. No member shall speak more than once to the same question, without leave of the House‡—*April 7, 1789*—unless he be the mover, proposer, or introducer of the matter pending; in which case he shall be permitted to speak in reply, but not until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.—*January 14, 1840.*

38. If a question depending be lost by adjournment of the House, and revived on the succeeding day, no member who

* See rule 2, with note appended to it.

† That part of this rule which is printed in *italic* was adopted on the 13th March, 1822, with the exception of the words, "in case any member object," which were inserted on the 14th September, 1837.

‡ This rule, as originally adopted on the 7th April, 1789, permitted a member to speak *twice*, and ended with the word *House*. It remained unchanged until the 14th January, 1840, when it was established as it now stands.

shall have spoken on the preceding day, shall be permitted again to speak without leave.*—*April 7, 1789.*

39. While the Speaker is putting any question, or addressing the House, none shall walk out of or across the house; nor in such case, or when a member is speaking, shall entertain private discourse; nor while a member is speaking, shall pass between him and the Chair.—*April 7, 1789.* Every member shall remain uncovered during the session of the House.—*September 14, 1837.* No member or other person shall visit or remain by the Clerk's table while the yeas and noes are calling, or ballots are counting.—*September 14, 1837.*

40. No member shall vote on any question in the event of which he is immediately and particularly interested,† or in any case where he was not within the bar of the House when the question was put.‡—*April 7, 1789.* And when any member shall ask leave to vote, the Speaker shall propound to him the question, "*Were you within the bar when your name was called?*"—*September 14, 1837.*

41. Upon a division and count of the House on any question, no member without the bar shall be counted.—*November 13, 1794.* ‘

42. Every member who shall be in the House when the

*There is no proceeding in the House to which this rule can be applied. It was originally framed in reference to that law of Parliament which says that all pending questions are lost by adjournment, and to be again considered must be moved anew. In the rules as revised and established on the 7th January, 1802, the prohibition to speak on the next day was confined to those who had spoken *twice* on the preceding day. It so remained until the 14th January, 1840, when the word *twice* was left out.

†Of late, differences of opinion have occasionally arisen as to the kind of interest alluded to in this rule. It has been contended to apply to members who were merchants or manufacturers, or engaged in other business to be affected by tariffs or other bills touching rates of duties, &c. This construction has never been sustained by the House. The original construction, and the only true one, is direct *personal* or *pecuniary* interest.

‡As originally adopted, the word *present* was used in this rule where the words "*within the bar of the House*" now appear. The alteration was made on the 14th September, 1837.

question is put shall give his vote, unless the House, for special reason, shall excuse him.*—*April 7, 1789.* All motions to excuse a member from voting shall be made before the House divides, or before the call of the yeas and nays is commenced; and the question shall then be taken without further debate.—*September 14, 1837.†*

43. When a motion is made and seconded, it shall be stated by the Speaker; or, being in writing, it shall be handed to the Chair and read aloud by the Clerk, before debated.—*April 7, 1789.*

44. Every motion shall be reduced to writing if the Speaker or any member desire it.—*April 7, 1789.* Every *written* motion made to the House shall be inserted on the journals, with the name of the member making it, unless it be withdrawn on the same day on which it was submitted.—*March 26, 1806.*

45. After a motion is stated by the Speaker, or read by the Clerk, it shall be deemed to be in the possession of the House; but may be withdrawn at any time before a decision or amendment.—*April 7, 1789.*

46. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lie on the table, for the previous question, to postpone to a day certain, to commit or amend, to postpone indefinitely; which several motions shall have precedence in the order in which they are arranged.‡—*March*

* By rule 41, the date of which is subsequent in date to this, a member who may be "in the House" is not allowed to vote, unless he be "within the bar," upon a division or count of the House.

† That part of rule 42 which allowed a brief verbal statement of reasons to be given by any member for requesting to be excused from voting, rescinded January 2, 1845.—*Journal H. R.*, 115.

‡ This rule, as originally established, April 7, 1789, read thus: "When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received unless to *amend* it, to *commit* it, for the *previous* question, or to *adjourn*." On the 13th November, 1794, the *motion to postpone to a day certain* was introduced next after the previous question. On the 17th December 1805, the rule was changed as follows: 1st, the previous question; 2d, to postpone indefinitely; 3d, to postpone to a day certain; 4th, to lie; 5th, to commit; 6th, to amend, 7th, to adjourn. On the 23d December, 1811, the

13, 1822—and no motion to postpone to a day certain, to commit, or to postpone indefinitely, being decided, shall be again allowed on the same day, and at the same stage of the bill or proposition.

47. When a resolution shall be offered, or a motion made, to refer any subject, and different committees shall be proposed, the question shall be taken in the following order :

The Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union ; the Committee of the Whole House ; a Standing Committee ; a Select Committee.—*March 13, 1822.*

48. A motion to adjourn, and a motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, shall be always in order*—*April 7, 1789, and January 14, 1840 ; these motions, and the motion to lie on the table, shall be decided without debate.†—November 13, 1794 ; March 13, 1822.*

49. The hour at which every motion to adjourn is made shall be entered on the journal.—*October 9, 1837.*

50. The previous question shall be in this form : “Shall

order was changed as follows : 1st, to adjourn ; 2d, to lie ; 3d, the previous question ; 4th, to postpone indefinitely ; 5th, to postpone to a day certain ; 6th, to commit ; 7th, to amend. On the 13th March, 1822, they were classed as above and were declared, for the first time, to have precedence according to their arrangement ; previous to which the notions of the Speaker often governed as to the precedence of these motions, and hence the direction of the rule.

* It has been decided and acted upon, that, under this rule, “ a motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn ” takes precedence of a motion to adjourn. The reason of this decision is, that, before the House adjourned, it was proper to fix the time to which it should adjourn. To this decision, and upon this reasoning, no objection has been made.

† In the first rules established by the House on the 7th April, 1789, it was directed that “ when the House adjourns, the members shall keep their seats until the Speaker goes forth, and then the members shall follow.” This rule was left out of the rules established 13th November, 1794. On the 13th March, 1822, a rule was adopted prohibiting a motion to adjourn before four o’clock, if there was a pending question ; it was rescinded on the 13th of March, 1824. On the 13th of March, 1822, a rule was also adopted against the rising of the Committee of the Whole before four o’clock, which was abrogated on the 25th of March, 1824.

the main question be now put?"—*April 7, 1789.* It shall only be admitted when demanded by a majority of the members present—*February 24, 1812*; and its effects shall be to put an end to all debate, and bring the House to a direct vote upon a motion to commit, if such motion shall have been made; and if this motion does not prevail, then upon amendments reported by a committee, if any, then—*August 5, 1848*—upon pending amendments, and then upon the main question.—*January 14, 1840.* On a motion for the previous question,* and prior to the seconding of the same, a call of the House shall be in order; but after a majority shall have seconded such motion, no call shall be in order prior to a decision of the main question.†—*September 14, 1837.*

51. On a previous question there shall be no debate.‡—*December 17, 1805.* All incidental questions of order arising

* The previous question was recognised in the rules established April 7, 1789, and could be demanded by five members, (the parliamentary law places it in the power of two members—one to move, the other to second.) On the 23d December, 1811, it was placed on a footing with the yeas and nays; that is, at the command of *one-fifth of the members present.* It remained so until the 24th February, 1812, when the rule was changed to its present form of a *majority.* According to former practice, the previous question brought the House to a direct vote on the main question; that is, to agree to the main *proposition*, to the exclusion of all amendments and incidental motions; but on the 14th January 1840, it was changed to the present form—first to embrace *pending* amendments, and then the main proposition.

The original intent of the previous question was, to ascertain the sense of the House, in the early stages of a subject, as to the propriety of entertaining the matter; and if decided affirmatively, the debate went on; if decided negatively, the debate ceased, and the subject passed from before the House without motion or further question. This was the practice in Congress under the confederation; and it is still the practice in the British Parliament. Now, by the practice of the House, as well as by the terms of the rule, it is reversed: if the motion for the previous question is decided in the affirmative, debate ceases, and the House proceeds to vote; if in the negative, the proceedings go on as if the motion for the previous question had not been made.

† See rules 63 and 64, for mode of proceeding in a call of the House.

‡ The rules, as established 7th April, 1789, allowed each member to speak once on the previous question; that is, Shall the main question be now put? and so

after a motion is made for the previous question, and pending such motion, shall be decided, whether on appeal or otherwise, without debate.—*September 15, 1837.*

52. When a question is postponed indefinitely, the same shall not be acted upon again during the session.—*December 17, 1805.*

53. Any member may call for the division of a question, which shall be divided if it comprehend propositions in substance so distinct that, one being taken away, a substantive proposition shall remain for the decision of the House.—*September 15, 1837.* A motion to strike out and insert shall be deemed indivisible—*December 23, 1811*; but a motion to strike out being lost, shall preclude neither amendment nor a motion to strike out and insert.—*March 13, 1822.*

54. Motions and reports may be committed at the pleasure of the House.—*April 7, 1789.*

55. No motion or proposition on a subject different from that under consideration shall be admitted under color of amendment.*—*March 13, 1822.* No bill or resolution shall, at any time, be amended by annexing thereto, or incorporating therewith, any other bill or resolution pending before the House.†—*September 15, 1837.*

remained until the 17th December, 1805, when debate was prohibited; yet, on the 15th December, 1807, after the previous question had been ordered, the House, on an appeal from the Speaker, reversed his decision, and decided that the main question was open to further debate—103 to 14, no party vote. This decision was reaffirmed by the House December 2, 1808—yeas 101, nays 18.

* This rule was originally established on the 7th April, 1789, and was in these words: “No new motion or proposition shall be admitted under color of amendment, as a substitute for the motion or proposition under debate.” On the 13th March, 1822, it was changed to its present form, in which the words *new* and *substitute* do not appear.

† The latter clause of this rule was adopted at the first session of the 25th Congress; and, as originally reported by the committee, the following words were contained at the end of it: “Nor by any proposition containing the substance, in whole or in part, of any other bill or resolution pending before the House.” These

56. When a majority has been once made, and carried in the affirmative or negative, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move for the reconsideration thereof—*January 7, 1802*—on the same or succeeding day—*December 23, 1811*; and such motion shall take precedence of all other questions, except a motion to adjourn*—*May 6, 1828*—and shall not be withdrawn after the said succeeding day without the consent of the House; and thereafter any member may call it up for consideration.—*March 2, 1848.*

57. When the reading of a paper is called for, and the same is objected to by any member, it shall be determined by a vote of the House.†—*November 13, 1794.*

words were stricken out by the House before it would agree to the rule; by which it would seem to be decided that a bill or resolution might be amended by incorporating therein the *substance* of any other bill or resolution before the House. Such has been the general practice of the House.

*A difference of opinion and a discrepancy in action have sometimes occurred in administering this rule. Twenty years ago, and previously, a motion to reconsider could not be made after the subject was disposed of, if there was another subject before the House, until that subject had passed away; it was then often too late to make the motion. It was under this practice that Mr. Randolph was unable to move a reconsideration of the settlement of the celebrated Missouri question, (notice of which he gave out of time,) as, before he could do so, the bill had been taken to the Senate. The practice, of late years has been changed, so as to allow the motion to reconsider to be made at any moment within the prescribed time. If the motion be made when a different subject is before the House, it is entered, and remains until that subject is disposed of, and then "takes precedence of all other business, except a motion to adjourn." When any final vote has been taken, and a motion made to reconsider, that motion may be laid on the table; in which case, according to the practice of several years past, the vote stands as though the motion to reconsider had not been made. This is correct; as if the House wished to retain the matter, it would agree to the motion to reconsider, instead of laying it on the table. Motions to reconsider should be promptly acted on, otherwise it is in the power of a single member (voting on the strong side against his sentiments, solely for the purpose of placing himself in a situation to make the motion) to arrest business which a majority have determined to despatch.

† As originally adopted, this rule contained, after the word "for," the words "which had before been read to the House." They were stricken out on the 14th December, 1795

58. The unfinished business in which the House was engaged at the last preceding adjournment shall have the preference in the orders of the day; and no motion on any other business shall be received, without special leave of the House, until the former is disposed of.—*November 13, 1794.*

59. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate shall be necessary, shall be read to the House, and laid on the table, on a day preceding that in which the same shall be moved, unless the House shall otherwise expressly allow.—*April 7, 1789.*

60. The name of the member who presents a petition or memorial, or who offers a resolution to the consideration of the House, shall be inserted on the journals.—*March 22, 1806.*

61. A proposition requesting information from the President of the United States, or directing it to be furnished by the head of either of the executive departments, or by the Postmaster General—*December 13, 1820*—or to print an extra number of any document or other matter, excepting messages of the President to both houses at the commencement of each session of Congress, and the reports and documents connected with or referred to in it, shall lie on the table one day for consideration, unless otherwise ordered by the unanimous consent of the House—*December 13, 1820*; and all such propositions shall be taken up for consideration in the order they were presented, immediately after reports are called for from select committees; and, when adopted, the Clerk shall cause the same to be delivered.—*January 22, 1822.*

62. Upon calls of the House, or in taking the yeas and nays on any question, the names of the members shall be called alphabetically.—*April 7, 1789.*

63. Upon the call of the House, the names of the members shall be called over by the Clerk, and the absentees noted: after which the names of the absentees shall again be called over; the doors shall then be shut, and those for whom no excuse or insufficient excuses are made may, by order of those

present, if fifteen in number, be taken into custody as they appear, or may be sent for and taken into custody, wherever to be found, by special messengers to be appointed for that purpose.*—*November 13, 1789, and December 14, 1795.*

64. When a member shall be discharged from custody, and admitted to his seat, the House shall determine whether such discharge shall be with or without paying fees; and in like manner, whether a delinquent member, taken into custody by a special messenger, shall or shall not be liable to defray the expense of such special messenger.—*November 13, 1794.*

65. Any fifteen members (including the Speaker, if there be one) shall be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members.—*April 17, 1789.*

66. No member shall absent himself from the service of the House, unless he have leave, or be sick, or unable to attend.—*April 13, 1789.*

67. A Sergeant-at-arms shall be appointed, to hold his office during the pleasure of the House, whose duty it shall be to attend the House during its sittings;† to execute the commands of the House from time to time, together with all such process, issued by authority thereof, as shall be directed to him by the Speaker.—*April 14, 1789.*

68. The symbol of his office (the mace) shall be borne by the Sergeant-at-arms when in the execution of his office.‡—*April 14, 1789.*

*The rule, as originally established in relation to a call of the House, which was on the 13th of November, 1789, differed from the present rule, in this: there was one day's notice to be given, and it required a vote of the House, and not fifteen members, to order a member into custody. It was changed to its present form on the 14th December, 1795. On the 7th January, 1802, it was changed back to its original form, to require "an order of the House" to take absent members into custody, and so remained until the 23d December, 1811, when it was again changed to what it is now—i. e., fifteen members.

†In the rules established November 13, 1794, the Sergeant was empowered to appoint a "special messenger to execute the commands of the House." This authority was stricken from the rules established on the 14th December, 1795.

‡At the time this rule was adopted, "a proper symbol of office" for the Sergeant-at-arms was directed to be provided, "of such form and device as the

69. The fees of the Sergeant-at-arms shall be, for every arrest, the sum of two dollars; for each day's custody and releasement, one dollar; and for travelling expenses for himself or a special messenger, going and returning, one-tenth of a dollar per mile.—*April 14, 1789.*

70. It shall be the duty of the Sergeant-at-arms to keep the accounts for pay and mileage of members, to prepare checks, and, if required to do so, to draw the money on such checks for the members, (the same being previously signed by the Speaker, and endorsed by the member,) and pay over the same to the member entitled thereto.—*April 4, 1838.*

71. The Sergeant-at-arms shall give bond, with surety, to the United States, in a sum not less than five nor more than ten thousand dollars, at the discretion of the Speaker, and with such surety as the Speaker may approve, faithfully to account for the money coming into his hands for the pay of members.—*April 4, 1838.*

72. The Sergeant-at-arms shall be sworn to keep the secrets of the House.—*December 23, 1811.*

73. A Doorkeeper shall be appointed for the service of the House.*—*April 2, 1789.*

Speaker should direct." In pursuance of this order, a mace, or "symbol," was procured, which represented the Roman fasces, made of ebony sticks, bound transversely with a thin silver band, terminating in a double tie or beau-knot near the top; at each end a silver band an inch deep, and on the top of each of the rods a small silver spear. A stem of silver, three-fourths of an inch in diameter, and two inches long, from the centre of the fasces, supported a globe, of silver, about two and a half inches in diameter, upon which was an eagle, his claws grasping the globe, and just in the act of flight, his wings somewhat more than half extended. The eagle was massive silver, richly carved. The design was fine, and its whole execution beautiful; the entire height about three feet. The mace was destroyed at the conflagration of the Capitol on the 24th August, 1814, and was not replaced until recently. A temporary one was hastily gotten up (of common pine and painted) for the then next session of Congress, and was tolerated till the session of 1841-'42, when the splendid one now in use was procured.

* The rule of 1789 provided for the appointment of an *Assistant Doorkeeper*, and so continued until Colonel John W. Hunter, the incumbent, died, in December, 1841, and the House, on the 13th of that month, abolished the office

74. The Doorkeeper shall be sworn to keep the secrets of the House.—*December 23, 1811.*

75. The Postmaster, to superintend the post office kept in the Capitol for the accommodation of the members, shall be appointed by the House.*—*April, 4, 1838.*

76. Twenty-eight standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of each session, viz :

A Committee of Elections.—*Nov. 13, 1789.*

A Committee of Ways and Means.—*Jan. 7, 1802.*

A Committee of Claims.—*Nov. 13, 1794 †*

A Committee on Commerce.—*Dec. 14, 1795. ‡*

A Committee on Public Lands.—*Dec. 17, 1805. §*

} To consist of
nine mem-
bers each

* Immediately after the organization of the government under the present Constitution, a room was set apart in the Capitol for the reception and distribution of letters and packets to and from members of the House, without an order for that purpose, and was called the post office ; it was superintended by the Doorkeeper and his assistants. On the 9th of April, 1814, a special allowance was made to the Doorkeeper to meet the expenses of this office, and he was authorized to appoint a postmaster. The office continued on this footing till April 4, 1838, when an order was passed, as above, for the appointment of a postmaster by the House itself.

† Originally the Committee of Claims was charged with revolutionary and land claims, and all sorts of Pensions. On the 22d December, 1813, the duties of that committee were divided, and a committee was appointed called the Committee on Pensions and Revolutionary Claims. On the 9th of December, 1825, a separate Committee on Revolutionary Pensions was created, leaving the business of Invalid pensions to the committee created on the 22d December, 1813. On the 13th December, 1825, four days after its institution, the designation of the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions was changed to the Committee on Military Pensions, and it was charged with both revolutionary and invalid pensions. On the 10th January, 1831, the Committee on Military Pensions became the present Committee on Revolutionary Pensions, and an additional committee was created called the Committee on Invalid Pensions ; and the pension business was apportioned to the two committees, as set out in the duties assigned to the committees.

‡ This committee was originally a Committee on Commerce and Manufactures. On the 8th December, 1819, a Committee on Manufactures was constituted, but no duties have been assigned to that committee in the rules.

§ The 3d of January, 1805, was the first time at which it was proposed to appoint a Committee on Public Lands. The proposition was then made by Mr. John Boyle, of Kentucky, and was rejected. On the 17th December, 1805, the

A Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.— <i>Nov. 9, 1808.*</i>	} To consist of nine mem- bers each.
A Committee for the District of Columbia.— <i>Jan. 27, 1808.</i>	
A Committee on the Judiciary.— <i>June 3, 1813.</i>	
A Committee on Revolutionary Claims.— <i>Dec. 22, 1813.†</i>	
A Committee on Public Expenditures.— <i>Feb. 26, 1814.</i>	
A Committee on Private Land Claims.— <i>April 29, 1816 ‡</i>	
A Committee on Manufactures — <i>Dec. 8, 1819.§</i>	
A Committee on Agriculture.— <i>May 3, 1820.§</i>	
A Committee on Indian Affairs.— <i>Dec. 18, 1821.§</i>	
A Committee on Military Affairs.— <i>March 13, 1822.</i>	
A Committee on the Militia.— <i>Dec. 10, 1835.</i>	
A Committee on Naval Affairs.— <i>March 13, 1822.</i>	
A Committee on Foreign Affairs.— <i>March 13, 1822.</i>	
A Committee on the Territories.— <i>Dec. 13, 1825.</i>	
A Committee on Revolutionary Pensions.— <i>Dec. 9, 1825 ||</i>	
A Committee on Invalid Pensions.— <i>Jan. 10, 1831.</i>	} To consist of five mem- bers each.
A Committee on Roads and Canals.— <i>Dec. 15, 1831.</i>	
A Committee on Patents.— <i>Sept. 15, 1837.</i>	
A Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds— <i>Sept. 15, 1837.</i>	
A Committee of Revision and Unfinished Business — <i>Dec. 14, 1795.</i>	
A Committee of Accounts.— <i>Nov. 7, 1804.¶</i>	
A Committee on Mileage.— <i>Sept. 15, 1837.</i>	
A Committee on Engraving, to consist of three members.— <i>March 16, 1844.</i>	

committee was constituted for the first time. Previous to that day the business relating to the lands of the United States was sent either to the Committee of Claims or to a select committee, and frequently in parts to both.

* From the earliest stages of the government, a *select* committee was annually raised upon the subject of "the Post Office and Post Roads," and was always composed of a member from each State. A *standing* committee was instituted on the 9th November, 1808, and, like the *select* committees, was directed to be composed of a member from each State. On the 23d December, 1811, it was directed to be composed of the same number of members as the other *standing* committees.

† See note (†) page 177.

‡ When the Committee on Private Lands was first constituted, it was composed of five members—two less than the other committees. On the 19th December, 1817, it was directed to be composed of seven members.

§ There are no duties assigned to the Committees on Manufactures, Agriculture, and Indian Affairs, in the rules.

|| See note (†) page 177.

¶ The Committee of accounts was first constituted as a *select* committee on the 7th of November, 1804. It was made a *standing* committee December 17, 1805.

77. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Elections to examine and report upon the certificates of election, or other credentials, of the members returned to serve in this House; and to take into their consideration all such petitions and other matters touching elections and returns as shall or may be presented or come into question, and be referred to them by the House.—*November 13, 1789; November 13, 1794.*

78. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt or the revenue, and of the expenditure; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon; [to examine into the state of the several public department, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.]*—*January 7, 1802.*

In preparing bills of appropriations for other objects, the Committee of Ways and Means shall not include appropriations for carrying into effect treaties made by the United States; and where an appropriation bill shall be referred to them for their consideration, which contains appropriations for carrying a treaty into effect, and for other objects, they shall propose such amendments as shall prevent appropriations for carrying a treaty into effect being included in the same bill with appropriations for other objects.—*January 30, 1819.*

* That portion of the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means which is printed within brackets, was originally adopted on the 7th January, 1802. On the 26th February, 1814, the Committee on Public Expenditures was created and added to the list of standing committees. The duties of this latter committee are exactly those contained in that portion of the duties of the Committee of Ways and Means which is referred to in this note as within brackets. (See rule 89.) The words ought to be stricken from the specification of the duties of the Committee of Ways and Means.

79. It shall also be the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means, within thirty days after their appointment, at every session of Congress, commencing on the first Monday of December, to report the general appropriation bills—for the civil and diplomatic expenses of government; for the army; for the navy; and for the Indian department and Indian annuities; or, in failure thereof, the reasons of such failure.—*September 14, 1837.*

80. General appropriation bills shall be in order in preference to any other bills of a public nature unless otherwise ordered by a majority of the House.—*September 14, 1837.*

81. No appropriation shall be reported in such general appropriation bills, or be in order as an amendment thereto, for any expenditure not previously authorized by law—*September 14, 1837*—unless in continuation of appropriations for such public works and objects as are already in progress, and for the contingencies for carrying on the several departments of the Government.—*March 13, 1838.*

82. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Claims to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching claims and demands on the United States as shall be presented, or shall or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereupon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.—*November 13, 1794.*

83. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Commerce to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching the commerce of the United States as shall be presented, or shall or may come into question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon.*—*December 14, 1795.*

* This committee was originally a Committee on Commerce and Manufactures. On the 8th December, 1819, a separate Committee on Manufactures was constituted, and the duties of the original Committee on Commerce and Manufactures have been confirmed, as above, by leaving out the words "and Manufactures." There are no duties assigned in these rules to the Committee on Manufactures.

84. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Public Lands to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things respecting the lands of the United States as shall be presented, or shall or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.—*December 17, 1805.*

85. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching the post office and post roads as shall be presented, or shall come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.—*November 9, 1808.*

86. It shall be the duty of the Committee for the District of Columbia to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching the said District as shall be presented, or shall come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.—*January 27, 1808.*

87. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Judiciary to take into consideration such petitions and matters or things touching judicial proceedings as shall be presented, or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.—*June 3, 1813.*

88. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching claims and demands originating in the revolutionary war or arising therefrom, as shall be presented, or shall or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereupon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.—*December 22, 1813.*

89. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Public Expenditures to examine into the state of the several public departments, and particularly into laws making appropriations of money, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.*—*February 26, 1814.*

90. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Private Land Claims to take into consideration all claims to land which may be referred to them, or shall or may come in question; and to report there opinion thereupon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.—*April 29, 1816.*

91. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Military Affairs to take into consideration all subjects relating to the military establishment and public defence which may be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion thereupon; and also to report, from time to time, such measures as may contribute to economy and accountability in the said establishment.—*March 13, 1822.*

92. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Militia to take into consideration and report on all subjects connected with the organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia of the United States.—*December 10, 1835.*

93. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Naval Affairs to take into consideration all matters which concern the naval establishment, and which shall be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion thereupon; and also to report, from time to time, such measures as may contribute to economy and accountability in the said establishment.—*March 13, 1822.*

* See note to rule 78. And further: on the 30th March, 1816, six Committees on Expenditures in the several departments of the government were created and added to the list of standing committees. The duties assigned to these several committees would seem entirely to cover the duties of the Committee on Public Expenditures. (See rules 105 and 106.)

94. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to take into consideration all matters which concern the relations of the United States with foreign nations, and which shall be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion on the same.—*March 13, 1822.*

95. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Territories to examine into the legislative, civil, and criminal proceedings of the Territories, and to devise and report to the House such means as, in their opinion, may be necessary to secure the rights and privileges of residents and non-residents.—*December 13, 1825.*

96. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions to take into consideration all such matters respecting pensions for services in the revolutionary war, other than invalid pensions, as shall be referred to them by the House.—*January 10, 1831.*

97. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Invalid Pensions to take into consideration all such matters respecting invalid pensions, as shall be referred to them by the House.—*January 10, 1831.*

98. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Roads and Canals to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things relating to roads and canals, and the improvement of the navigation of rivers, as shall be presented, or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report thereupon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.—*December 15, 1831.*

99. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Patents to consider all subjects relating to patents which may be referred to them; and report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions relative thereto as may seem to them expedient.—*September 15, 1837.*

100. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to consider all subjects relating to the public edifices and grounds within the city of Washington which may be referred to them; and report their opinion

thereon, together with such propositions relating thereto as may seem to them expedient.—*September 15, 1837.*

101. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Revisal and Unfinished Business to examine and report what laws have expired, or are near expiring, and require to be revived or further continued; also to examine and report, from the Journal of last session, all such matters as were then depending and undetermined.—*December 14, 1795.*

102. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Accounts to superintend and control the expenditures of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives—*December 17, 1805*; also to audit and settle all accounts which may be charged thereon; and also to audit the accounts of the members for their travel to and from the seat of government, and their attendance in the House.*—*December 23, 1811.*

103. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Mileage to ascertain and report the distance to the Sergeant-at-arms, for which each member shall receive pay.†—*September 15, 1837.*

104. There shall be appointed a standing committee of this House, to consist of three members, to be called the Committee on Engraving,‡ to whom shall be referred by the Clerk all drawings, maps, charts, or other papers, which may at any time come before the House for engraving, lithographing, or publishing in any way; which committee shall report to

* So much of this rule as directs the Committee of Accounts to audit and settle the mileage and daily pay of the members, was adopted at the first session of the twelfth Congress, (1811.) At the first session of the twenty-fifth Congress, (1837,) a standing Committee on Mileage was created, for the especial purpose of ascertaining and reporting the mileage for which each member shall receive pay. (See rule 103)

† See rule and note to rule 102.

‡ The resolution of Congress "regulating the printing of Congress, and establishing the compensation for the same," approved July 23, 1846, provides that "when any order for printing requires maps or charts, the same shall be obtained under the direction of the Committee on Contingent Expenses of the house making such order."

the House whether the same ought, in their opinion, to be published; and if the House order the publication of the same, that said committee shall direct the size and manner of execution of all such maps, charts, drawings, or other papers, and contract by agreement in writing, for all such engraving, lithographing, printing, drawing, and coloring, as may be ordered by the House; which agreement, in writing, shall be furnished by said committee to the Committee of Accounts, to govern said committee in all allowances for such works; and it shall be in order for said committee to report at all times.—*March 16, 1844,*

105. Six additional standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of the first session in each Congress, whose duties shall continue until the first session of the ensuing Congress.—*March 30, 1816.*

1. A committee on so much of the Public Accounts and Expenditures as relates to the Department of State;
2. A committee on so much of the Public Accounts and Expenditures as relates to the Treasury Department;
3. A committee on so much of the Public Accounts and Expenditures as relates to the Department of War;
4. A committee on so much of the Public Accounts and Expenditures as relates to the Department of the Navy;
5. A committee on so much of the Public Accounts and Expenditures as relates to the Post Office, and
6. A committee on so much of the Public Accounts and Expenditures as relates to the Public Buildings.

To consist of
five mem-
bers each.

106. It shall be the duty of the said committees to examine into the state of the accounts and expenditures respectively submitted to them, and to inquire and report particularly—

Whether the expenditures of the respective departments are justified by law;

Whether the claims from time to time satisfied and discharged by the respective departments are supported by sufficient vouchers, establishing their justness both as to their character and amount;

Whether such claims have been discharged out of funds

appropriated therefor, and whether all moneys have been disbursed in conformity with appropriation laws ; and

Whether any, and what, provisions are necessary to be adopted, to provide more perfectly for the proper application of the public moneys, and to secure the government from demands unjust in their character or extravagant in their amount.

And it shall be, moreover, the duty of the said committees to report, from time to time, whether any, and what, retrenchment can be made in the expenditures of the several departments, without detriment to the public service ; whether any, and what, abuses at any time exist in the failure to enforce the payment of moneys which may be due to the United States from public defaulters or others ; and to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the several departments and the accountability of their officers.*—*March 30, 1816.*

† It shall be the duty of the several Committees on Public Expenditures to inquire whether any offices belonging to the branches or departments, respectively, concerning whose expenditures it is their duty to inquire, have become useless or unnecessary ; and to report, from time to time, on the expediency of modifying or abolishing the same ; also, to examine into the pay and emoluments of all offices under the laws of the United States ; and to report, from time to time, such a reduction or increase thereof as a just economy and the public service may require.—*February 19, 1817.*

107. The several standing committees of the House shall have leave to report by bill or otherwise.—*March 13, 1822.*

108. No committee shall sit during the sitting of the House, without special leave.—*November 13, 1794.*

109. It shall be the duty of the Clerk to make, and cause to be printed, and delivered to each member, at the com-

See notes to rules 78 and 89.

† This part of the duties of those committees was, previous to 1814, overlooked and omitted in the printed editions.

ment of every session of Congress, a list of the reports which it is the duty of any officer or department of the government to make to Congress ; referring to the act or resolution, and page of the volume of the laws or journal in which it may be contained ; and placing under the name of each officer the list of reports required of him to be made, and the time when the report may be expected.—*March 13, 1822.*

110. It shall be the duty of the Clerk of the House, at the end of each session, to send a printed copy of the journals thereof to the Executive, and to each branch of the legislature of every State.—*November 13, 1794.*

111. All questions of order shall be noted by the Clerk, with the decision, and put together at the end of the journal of every session.—*December 23, 1811.*

112. Whenever confidential communications are received from the President of the United States, the House shall be cleared of all persons, except the members, Clerk, Sergeant-at-arms, and Doorkeeper,* and so continue during the reading of such communications, and (unless otherwise directed by the House) during all debates and proceedings to be had thereon. And when the Speaker, or any other member, shall inform the House that he has communications to make, which he conceives ought to be kept secret, the House shall, in like manner, be cleared, till the communication be made ; the House shall then determine whether the matter communicated requires secrecy or not, and take order accordingly.—*February 17, 1792, and December 30, 1793.*

113. All questions relating to the priority of business to be acted on, shall be decided without debate.—*February 21, 1803.*

*In the rule as originally established, on the 17th February, 1792, it is provided that the House be cleared of all persons, except "the members and the Clerk." In the rules of the 13th November, 1794, the language used is "the members of the House and its officers." In the edition of 7th January, 1802, the terms "members and Clerk" are again used ; and on the 23d December, 1811, it was changed to its present form, so as to include the Sergeant-at-arms and Doorkeeper.

OF BILLS.

114. Every bill shall be introduced on the report of a committee, or by motion for leave. In the latter case, at least one day's notice shall be given of the motion* in the House, or by filing a memorandum thereof with the Clerk, and having it entered on the journal; and the motion shall be made, and the bill introduced, if leave is given, when resolutions are called for; such motion, or the bill when introduced, may be committed. *April 7, 1789; September 15, 1837; and March 2, 1838.*

115. Every bill shall receive three several readings in the House, previous to its passage; and bills shall be despatched in order as they were introduced, unless where the House shall direct otherwise; but no bill shall be twice read on the same day, without special order of the House.—*April 7, 1789.*

116. The first reading of a bill shall be for information, and, if opposition be made to it, the question shall be: "Shall this bill be rejected?" If no opposition be made, or if the question to reject be negatived, the bill shall go to its second reading without a question.†—*April 7, 1789.*

*In the early stages of the government, before the institution of standing committees, it was the common practice to introduce bills, on motion for leave, by individual members; the bills were then referred to a select committee, to examine and report upon. The practice, however, of introducing bills by members on leave, gradually grew into disuse as standing committees were created, and, for nearly thirty years, no case occurs on the journals. A few cases have occurred within the last five or six years. It is an inconvenient practice, and does not facilitate business. Previous to the 13th March, 1822, so strict was the House upon the introduction of bills, that standing committees had to obtain leave, in every case, to report by bill. On that day the 107th rule was adopted.

† But not on the day of its introduction; that is prohibited by rule 115. The meaning of the rule is, that it passes to its second reading the *next day* "without motion or question;" it is the duty of the Speaker then to take it up, and give it the second reading when clearing his table under the 25th rule. If no opposition be made to a bill, or if the question to reject be negatived, and the bill receives its second reading forthwith, (as is usual,) it is always understood that it is by "special order of the House." In the rapid and hurried manner in which bills are now reported and acted upon, the motion is seldom or never made, nor is the

117. Upon the second reading of a bill, the Speaker shall state it as ready for commitment or engrossment; and, if committed, then a question shall be, whether to a select or standing committee, or to a Committee of the Whole House; if to a Committee of the Whole House, the House shall determine on what day—*November 13, 1794*; if no motion be made to commit, the question shall be stated on its engrossment; and if it be not ordered to be engrossed on the day of its being reported, it shall be placed on the general file on the Speaker's table, to be taken up in order.—*September 14, 1837*. But, if the bill be ordered to be engrossed, the House shall appoint the day when it shall be read the third time.—*November 13, 1794*.

118. Not more than three bills, originating in the House, shall be committed to the same Committee of the Whole; and such bills shall be analogous in their nature, which analogy shall be determined by the Speaker.—*December 29, 1817*.

119. A motion to strike out the enacting words of a bill shall have precedence of a motion to amend; and, if carried, shall be considered equivalent to its rejection.*—*March 13, 1822*.

question put, "Shall the bill be *now* read a second time?" The Speaker takes it for granted that the motion has been made and allowed, and announces the second reading as soon as the first reading is completed. When a bill is read the first time, and no disposition of it be moved, it remains on the Speaker's table to receive its second reading on the next day, as matter of course, in the third class of the 25th rule.

*The Manual states that if a committee be opposed to the whole paper or bill and think it cannot be made good by amendment, the committee cannot reject it, but must report it back to the House without amendment, and there make their opposition. In 1814, a Committee of the Whole struck out the first and only section of a bill, and so reported to the House. Mr. Speaker Cheves refused to receive the report on the ground that it was tantamount to a rejection of the bill, which the committee had not power to do. After this, that the merit of questions might be tested in Committee of the Whole, rule 119 was adopted. The Manual provides that a paragraph or section may be first amended by its friends, so as to make it as perfect as they can before the question is put for striking it out. By this rule, (i. e., rule 119,) it is *expressly established* that a motion to strike out, for the purpose of destroying, shall be paramount to a motion to amend. Rule 139

120. After commitment and report thereof to the house, or at any time before its passage, a bill may be recommitted.* *April 7, 1789.*

121. All bills ordered to be engrossed shall be executed in a fair round hand.—*April 7, 1789.*

122. No amendment by way of *rider* shall be received to any bill on its third reading.—*April 8, 1814.*

123. When a bill shall pass, it shall be certified by the Clerk, noting the day of its passage at the foot thereof.—*April 7, 1789.*

OF COMMITTEES OF THE WHOLE HOUSE.

124. It shall be a standing order of the day, throughout the session, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.†—*April 7, 1789.*

125. In forming a Committee of the Whole House, the Speaker shall leave his chair, and a chairman, to preside

provides that the Manual shall govern in cases in which it is applicable, where it is *not inconsistent* with established rules. In the case, then, of giving precedence to motions to insert or to amend over motions to strike out or reject, it is clearly inconsistent with an established rule, and consequently the practice of the House for the last few years has been in violation of the 119th rule.

*A difference of opinion often arises as to the construction of this rule. Anciently it was held and practised upon, according to its terms, that a bill could be recommitted *at any time* before its passage. Of late years it has been decided that, if the previous question on its passage be ordered, a motion to recommit is not in order, but that the question must be put on the passage of the bill. I think the practice unsound. The intention of a recommitment is for the purpose of perfecting the bill, and it is endangered by forcing its passage in an imperfect state.

† For more than forty years it was held and practised, under this rule, that the House could resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union at any time. Recently, however, a different practice prevailed, it being held that several of the rules prescribing the order of business, as well as special orders, interposed to prevent it; in consequence of which the House, on the 1st June, 1840, amended the 135th rule so as to go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union *at any time*; in other words, restored the ancient practice under the 124th rule.

in committee, shall be appointed by the Speaker.*—*April 7, 1789.*

126. Whenever the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, or the Committee of the Whole House, finds itself without a quorum, the chairman shall cause the roll of the House to be called, and thereupon the committee shall rise, and the chairman shall report the names of the absentees to the House, which shall be entered on the journal.—*December 18, 1847.*

127. Upon bills committed to a Committee of the Whole House, the bill shall be first read throughout by the Clerk, and then again read and debated by clauses, leaving the preamble to be last considered; the body of the bill shall not be defaced or interlined; but all amendments, noting the page and line, shall be duly entered by the Clerk on a separate paper, as the same shall be agreed to by the committee, and so reported to the House.† After report, the bill shall again be subject to be debated and amended by clauses, before a question to engross it be taken.—*April 17, 1789.*

128. All amendments made to an original motion in committee shall be incorporated with the motion, and so reported. *April 7, 1789.*

129. All amendments made to a report committed to a Committee of the Whole House shall be noted, and reported, as in the case of bills.—*April 7, 1789.*

130. All questions, whether in committee or in the House, shall be propounded in the order in which they were moved, except that, in filling up blanks, the largest sum and longest time shall be first put.‡—*April 7, 1789.*

*Originally the rule was silent as to the mode of appointing a chairman of the Committee of the Whole. He was appointed by the House by *nomination* and vote thereon. That practice became very inconvenient; and on the 13th November, 1794, the rule was amended by adding "by the Speaker."

† This refers to bills in manuscript and bills from the Senate. It was long after the date of this rule that the practice of printing the bills obtained.

‡ See rule 46, and the note to that rule, which is explanatory of this rule.

131. No motion or proposition for a tax or charge upon the people shall be discussed the day on which it is made or offered, and every such proposition shall receive its first discussion in a Committee of the Whole House.—*November 13, 1794.*

132. No sum or quantum of tax or duty, voted by a Committee of the Whole House, shall be increased in the House until the motion or proposition for such increase shall be first discussed and voted in a Committee of the Whole House ; and so in respect to the time of its continuance.—*November 13, 1794.*

133. All proceedings touching appropriations of money shall be first discussed in a Committee of the Whole House.*
November 13, 1794.

134. The rules of proceedings in the House shall be observed in a Committee of the Whole House, so far as they may be applicable, except the rule limiting the times of speaking.—*April 7, 1789 ;* but no member shall speak twice to any question, until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.—*December 18, 1805.*

135. In Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, the bills shall be taken up and disposed of in their order on the calendar ; but when objection is made to the consideration of a bill, a majority of the committee shall decide, without debate, whether it shall be taken up and disposed of, or laid aside : provided that general appropriation bills, and, in time of war, bills for raising men or money, and bills concerning a treaty of peace, shall be preferred to all other bills, at the discretion of the committee ; and when demanded by any member, the question shall first be put in regard to them.
July 27, 1848.

136. No standing rule or order of the House shall be re-

* This rule, as first adopted, required all proceedings touching appropriations of money to be first *moved* in Committee of the Whole. The word "*moved*" was struck out on the 17th December, 1805, as it was found in practice, greatly to retard public business.

scinded or changed* without one day's notice being given of the motion therefor—*November* 13, 1794; nor shall any rule be suspended, except by a vote of at least two-thirds of the members present†—*March* 13, 1822; nor shall the order of business, as established by the rules, be postponed or changed, except by a vote of at least two-thirds of the members present.—*April* 26, 1828. The House may at any time, by a vote of a majority of the members present, suspend the rules and orders for the purpose of going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union; and also for providing for the discharge of the Committee of the Whole House, and the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union—*January* 25, 1848—from the further consideration of any bill referred to it, after acting without debate on all amendments pending and that may be offered.‡—*March* 11, 1844.

137. Except during the last ten days of the session, the Speaker shall not entertain a motion to suspend the rules of the House at any time, except on Monday of every week: provided nothing herein contained shall be construed to alter so much of the 136th rule as provided as follows: "The House may at any time, by a vote of a majority of the members present, suspend the rules and orders for the purpose of going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union; and also for providing for the discharge of the committee from the further consideration of any bill referred

* The words "or changed," were added on the 23d December, 1811.

† This rule was amended at this place, June 18, 1841, [extra session 27th Congress,] by inserting these words: "It shall not be in order to move a suspension of the rules for any purpose until after the daily call for petitions, reports of committees, and resolutions shall be completed, except for a motion to proceed to the orders of the day." At the commencement of the next session, the House adopted the rules of the Twenty-sixth Congress, by which this and all other amendments made at the extra session fell

‡ December 4, 1843, the rules of the Twenty-seventh Congress were adopted, with the exception of this rule. On the 11th March, 1844, this rule was re-adopted.

to it, after acting without debate on all amendments pending and that may be offered.—*December 18, 1847.*

138. It shall be in order for the Committee on Enrolled Bills to report at any time.—*March 13, 1822.*

139. The rules of parliamentary practice, comprised in Jefferson's Manual, shall govern the House in all cases to which they are applicable, and in which they are not inconsistent with the Standing Rules and Orders of the House, and Joint Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives.—*September 15, 1837.*

140. No person shall be permitted to perform divine service in the chamber occupied by the House of Representatives unless with the consent of the Speaker.—*May 19, 1804.*

141. The rule for paying witnesses summoned to appear before this House, or either of its committees, shall be as follows: For each day a witness shall attend, the sum of two dollars; for each mile he shall travel in coming to or going from the place of examination, the sum of ten cents each way; but nothing shall be paid for travelling home when the witness has been summoned at the place of trial.—*June 5, 1832.*

142. The Clerk shall, within thirty days after the close of each session of Congress, cause to be completed the printing and primary distribution, to members and delegates, of the Journal of the House, together with an accurate index to the same.—*June 18, 1832.*

143. There shall be retained in the library of the Clerk's office, for the use of the members there, and not to be withdrawn therefrom, two copies of all the books and printed documents deposited in the library.—*December 22, 1826.*

144. The Clerk shall have preserved for each member of the House an extra copy, in good binding, of all the documents printed by order of either House at each future session of Congress.—*February 9, 1831.*

145. The Clerk shall make a weekly statement of the resolutions and bills (Senate bills inclusive) upon the Speaker's table, accompanied with a brief reference to the orders and

proceedings of the House upon each, and the date of such orders and proceedings; which statement shall be printed for the use of the members.—*April 21, 1836.*

146. The Clerk shall cause an index to be prepared to the acts passed at every session of Congress, and to be printed and bound with the acts.—*July 4, 1832.*

147. The unappropriated rooms in that part of the Capitol assigned to the House shall be subject to the order and disposal of the Speaker, until the further order of the House.—*May 26, 1824.*

148. Maps accompanying documents shall not be printed, under the general order to print, without the special direction of the House.—*March 2, 1837; September 11, 1837.*

149. No committee shall be permitted to employ a clerk at the public expense, without first obtaining leave of the House for that purpose.—*December 14, 1838.*

150. No extra compensation shall be allowed to any officer or messenger, page, laborer, or other person in the service of the House, or engaged in or about the public grounds or buildings; and no person shall be an officer of the House, or continue in its employment, who shall be an agent for the prosecution of any claim against the government, or be interested in such claim otherwise than an original claimant; and it shall be the duty of the Committee of Accounts to inquire into and report to the House any violation of this rule.—*March 8, 1842.*

151. Upon the engrossment of any bill making appropriations of money for works of internal improvement of any kind or description, it shall be in the power of any member to call for a division of the question, so as to take a separate vote of the House upon each item of improvement or appropriation contained in said bill, or upon such items separately, and others collectively, as the members making the call may specify; and if one-fifth of the members present second said call, it shall be the duty of the Speaker to make such divisions of the question, and put them to vote accordingly.—*February 26, 1846.*

152. The following resolution was passed by the House of Representatives January 30, 1846.—*Journal of the House of Representatives, 1st session 29th Congress, page 323 :*

“Whereas the Clerk of this House is by law made the responsible officer for the proper disbursement of the contingent fund, and is required to give bond for the faithful disbursement thereof: therefore,

“*Resolved*, That, from and after the passage of this resolution, all contracts, bargains, or agreements, relative to the furnishing any matter or thing, or for the performance of any labor for the House of Representatives, be made with the Clerk, or approved by him, before any allowance shall be made therefor by the Committee of Accounts.”

153. It shall be in order for the Committee on Printing to report at any time.—*1st session 30th Congress.*

154. The bills and their accompanying reports from the Court of Claims shall be referred by the Clerk of the House to the Committee of Claims ; and it shall be in order every Friday morning, immediately after the reading of the journal, for the Committee of Claims to report with reference to business from the Court of Claims. The bills reported to be printed and placed on the private calendar.—*May 16, 1856.*

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE LAWS HAVING REFERENCE TO THE BUSINESS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

AN ACT to provide for executing the Public Printing, and establishing the prices thereof, and for other purposes.

* * * * *

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That a committee consisting of three members of the Senate and three members of the House of Representatives shall be appointed by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, to be called the Joint Committee on the Public Printing, which committee shall have a right to decide between the Superintendent of the Public Printing and the Public Printer in any dispute which may arise as to the propriety of the decisions of the Superintendent making deductions on account of work which the Superintendent may refuse to receive, or which in his opinion may not be done with proper despatch, as required by law; and the said committee shall pass upon the accounts of the Superintendent of the Public Printing. Said committee shall have power to adopt such measures as may be deemed necessary to remedy any neglect or delay in the execution of the public printing: provided that no contract, agreement, or arrangement entered into by this committee shall take effect until the same shall have been approved by that house of Congress to which the printing belongs; and when the printing delayed relates to the business of both houses, until both houses shall have approved of such contract or arrangement. All motions to print extra copies of any bill, report, or other document, shall be referred to the

members of the Committee on Printing from the house in which the same may be made.

* * * * *

Approved *August* 26, 1852.

AN ACT to establish a court for the investigation of claims against the United States.

* * * * *

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That said court shall keep a record of their proceeding, and shall, at the commencement of each session of Congress, and at the commencement of each month during the session of Congress, report to Congress the cases upon which they shall have finally acted, stating in each the material facts which they find established by the evidence, with their opinion in the case, and the reasons upon which such opinion is founded. Any judge who may dissent from the opinion of the majority shall append his reasons for such dissent to the report; and such report, together with the briefs of the solicitor and of the claimant, which shall accompany the report, upon being made to either house of Congress, shall be printed in the same manner as other public documents. And said court shall prepare a bill or bills in those cases which shall have received the favorable decision thereof, in such form as, if enacted, will carry the same into effect. And two or more cases may be embraced in the same bill, where the separate amount proposed to be allowed in each case shall be less than one thousand dollars. And the said court shall transmit with said reports the testimony in each case, whether the same shall receive the favorable or adverse action of said court.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That said reports and the bills reported as aforesaid shall, if not finally acted upon during the session of Congress to which the said reports are made, be continued from session to session, and from Congress to Congress, until the same shall be finally acted upon;

and the consideration of said reports and bills shall, at the subsequent session of Congress, be resumed, and the said reports and bills be proceeded with in the same manner as though finally acted upon at the session when presented.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the claims reported upon adversely shall be placed upon the calendar when reported, and if the decision of said court shall be confirmed by Congress, said decision shall be conclusive; and the said court shall not at any subsequent period consider said claims, unless such reasons shall be presented to said court as, by the rules of common law or chancery in suits between individuals, would furnish sufficient ground for granting a new trial.

* * * * *

Approved *February* 24, 1855.

JOINT RULES AND ORDERS

OF

THE TWO HOUSES.

1. In every case of an amendment of a bill agreed to in one house and dissented to in the other, if either house shall request a conference, and appoint a committee for that purpose, and the other house shall also appoint a committee to confer, such committees shall, at a convenient hour, to be agreed upon by their chairman, meet in the conference chamber, and state to each other, verbally or in writing, as either shall choose, the reasons of their respective houses for and against the amendment, and confer freely thereon.—*November 13, 1794.*

2. When a message shall be sent from the Senate to the House of Representatives, it shall be announced at the door of the House by the Doorkeeper, and shall be respectfully communicated to the Chair by the person by whom it may be sent.—*November 13, 1794.*

3. The same ceremony shall be observed when a messenger shall be sent from the House of Representatives to the Senate.
November 13, 1794.

4. Messages shall be sent by such persons as a sense of propriety in each house may determine to be proper.—*November 13, 1794.*

5. While bills are on their passage between the two houses, they shall be on paper, and under the signature of the Secretary or Clerk of each house, respectively.—*November 13, 1794.*

6. After a bill shall have passed both houses, it shall be duly enrolled on parchment by the Clerk of the House of Representatives or the Secretary of the Senate, as the bill may have originated in the one or the other house, before it shall be presented to the President of the United States. *November 13, 1794.*

7. When bills are enrolled, they shall be examined by a joint committee of two from the Senate and two from the House of Representatives, appointed as a standing committee for that purpose, who shall carefully compare the enrolment with the engrossed bills as passed in the two houses, and correcting any errors that may be discovered in the enrolled bills, make their report forthwith to their respective houses. *November 13, 1794, and February 1, 1827.*

8. After examination and report, each bill shall be signed in the respective houses, first by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, then by the President of the Senate. *November 13, 1794.*

9. After a bill shall have been thus signed in each house, it shall be presented, by the said committee, to the President of the United States, for his approbation, (it being first endorsed on the back of the roll, certifying in which house the same originated ; which endorsement shall be signed by the Secretary or Clerk, as the case may be, of the house in which the same did originate,) and shall be entered on the journal of each house. The said committee shall report the day of presentation to the President ; which time shall also be carefully entered on the journal of each house.—*November 13, 1794.*

10. All orders, resolutions, and votes which are to be presented to the President of the United States for his approbation, shall also, in the same manner, be previously enrolled, examined, and signed ; and shall be presented in the same manner, and by the same committee, as provided in the cases of bills.—*November 13, 1794.*

11. When the Senate and House of Representatives shall judge it proper to make a joint address to the President, it shall be presented to him in his audience chamber by the President of the Senate, in the presence of the Speaker and both houses.—*November 13, 1794.*

12. When a bill or resolution which shall have passed in one house is rejected in the other, notice thereof shall be given to the house in which the same shall have passed.

13. When a bill or resolution which has been passed in one house shall be rejected in the other, it shall not be brought in during the same session, without a notice of ten days and leave of two-thirds of that house in which it shall be renewed.

14. Each house shall transmit to the other all papers on which any bill or resolution shall be founded.

15. After each house shall have adhered to their disagreement, a bill or resolution shall be lost.

16. No bill that shall have passed one house shall be sent for concurrence to the other on either of the three last days of the session.—*January 30, 1822.*

17. No bill or resolution that shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall be presented to the President of the United States, for his approbation, on the last day of the session.—*January 30, 1822.*

18. When bills which have passed one house are ordered to be printed in the other, a greater number of copies shall not be printed than may be necessary for the use of the house making the order.—*February 9, 1829.*

19. No spirituous liquors shall be offered for sale or exhibited within the Capitol, or on the public grounds adjacent thereto.—*September 18, 1837.*

20. There shall be a joint committee on the Library, to consist of three members on the part of the Senate, and three on the part of the House of Representatives, to superintend and direct the expenditure of all moneys appropriated for

the Library, and to perform such other duties as are or may be directed by law.

21. After six days from the commencement of a second or subsequent session of Congress, all bills, resolutions, or reports which originated in either house, and at the close of the next preceding session remained undetermined in either house, shall be resumed and acted on in the same manner as if an adjournment had not taken place.—*August 14, 1848.*

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RULES FOR CONDUCTING BUSINESS

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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1. The President having taken the chair, and a quorum being present, the journal of the preceding day shall be read, to the end that any mistake may be corrected that shall be made in the entries.

2. No member shall speak to another, or otherwise interrupt the business of the Senate, or read any newspaper, while the journals or public papers are reading, or when any member is speaking in any debate.

3. Every member, when he speaks, shall address the Chair, standing in his place, and when he has finished shall sit down.

4. No member shall speak more than twice, in any one debate, on the same day, without leave of the Senate.

5. When two members rise at the same time, the President shall name the person to speak; but in all cases the member who shall first rise and address the Chair shall speak first.

6. If any member in speaking, or otherwise, transgress the rules of the Senate, the presiding officer shall, or any member may, call to order, and when a member shall be called to order by the President, or a senator, he shall sit down, and shall not proceed without leave of the Senate. And every question of order shall be decided by the President, without debate, subject to an appeal to the Senate; and the President may call for the sense of the Senate on any question of order.

7. If the member be called to order by a senator for words spoken, the exceptionable words shall immediately be taken down in writing, that the President may be better able to judge of the matter.

8. No member shall absent himself from the service of the Senate, without leave of the Senate first obtained. And in case a less number than a quorum of the Senate shall convene, they are hereby authorized to send the Sergeant-at-arms, or any other person or persons by them authorized, for any or all absent members, as the majority of such members present shall agree, at the expense of such absent members, respectively, unless such excuse for non-attendance shall be made as the Senate, when a quorum is convened, shall judge sufficient, and in that case the expense shall be paid out of the contingent fund. And this rule shall apply as well to the first convention of the Senate, at the legal time of meeting, as to each day of the session, after the hour has arrived to which the Senate stood adjourned.

9. No motion shall be debated until the same shall be seconded.

10. When a motion shall be made and seconded, it shall be reduced to writing, if desired by the President, or any member, delivered in at the table, and read, before the same shall be debated ; and any motion may be withdrawn by the mover at any time before a decision, amendment, or ordering of the yeas and nays, except a motion to reconsider, which shall not be withdrawn without leave of the Senate.

11. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lie on the table, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone to a day certain, to commit or to amend ; which several motions shall have precedence in the order they stand arranged ; and the motion for adjournment shall always be in order, and be decided without debate.

12. If the question in debate contain several points, any member may have the same divided ; but, on a motion to strike out and insert, it shall not be in order to move for a division of the question ; but the rejection of a motion to strike out and insert one proposition shall not prevent a motion to strike out and insert a different proposition ; nor prevent a subsequent motion simply to strike out ; nor shall

the rejection of a motion simply to strike out prevent a subsequent motion to strike out and insert.

13. In filling up blanks, the largest sum and longest time shall be first put.

14. When the reading of a paper is called for, and the same is objected to by any member, it shall be determined by a vote of the Senate, and without debate.

15. The unfinished business in which the Senate was engaged at the last preceding adjournment shall have the preference in the special orders of the day.

16. When the yeas and nays shall be called for by one-fifth of the members present, each member called upon shall, unless for special reason he be excused by the Senate, declare openly, and without debate, his assent or dissent to the question. In taking the yeas and nays, and upon the call of the house, the names of the members shall be taken alphabetically.

17. When the yeas and nays shall be taken upon any question, in pursuance of the above rule, no member shall be permitted, under any circumstances whatever, to vote after the decision is announced from the Chair.

18. On a motion made and seconded to shut the doors of the Senate, on the discussion of any business which may, in the opinion of a member, require secrecy, the President shall direct the gallery to be cleared; and during the discussion of such motion, the doors shall remain shut.

19. No motion shall be deemed in order to admit any person or persons whatsoever within the doors of the Senate chamber to present any petition, memorial, or address, or to hear any such read.

20. When a question has been once made and carried in the affirmative or negative, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move for the reconsideration thereof; but no motion for the reconsideration of any vote shall be in order after a bill, resolution, message, report, amendment, or motion, upon which the vote was taken, shall have

gone out of the possession of the Senate, announcing their decision; nor shall any motion for reconsideration be in order, unless made on the same day on which the vote was taken, or within the two next days of actual session of the Senate thereafter.

21. When the Senate are equally divided, the Secretary shall take the decision of the President.

22. All questions shall be put by the President of the Senate, either in the presence or absence of the President of the United States; and the senators shall signify their assent or dissent, by answering aye or no.

23. The Vice President, or President of the Senate *pro tempore*, shall have the right to name a member to perform the duties of the Chair; but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment.

24. After the journal is read, the President shall first call for petitions, and then for reports from standing committees; and every petition, or memorial, or other paper, shall be referred, of course, without putting a question for that purpose, unless the reference is objected to by a member at the time such petition, memorial, or other paper, is presented. And before any petition or memorial, addressed to the Senate, shall be received and read at the table, whether the same shall be introduced by the President or a member, a brief statement of the contents of the petition or memorial shall verbally be made by the introducer.

25. One day's notice, at least, shall be given of an intended motion for leave to bring in a bill; and all bills reported by a committee shall, after the first reading, be printed for the use of the Senate; but no other paper or document shall be printed for the use of the Senate without special order.

26. Every bill shall receive three readings previous to its being passed, and the President shall give notice at each, whether it be the first, second, or third; which readings shall be on three different days, unless the Senate unani-

mously direct otherwise. And all resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution, or to which the approbation and signature of the President may be requisite, or which may grant money out of the contingent or any other fund, shall be treated, in all respects, in the introduction and form of proceedings on them, in the Senate, in a similar manner with bills; and all other resolutions shall lie on the table one day for consideration, and also reports of committees. A motion to suspend, or to concur in a resolution of the House to suspend, the 16th and 17th joint rules, or either of them, shall always be in order, be immediately considered, and be decided without debate.

27 No bill shall be committed or amended until it shall have been twice read, after which it may be referred to a committee.

28. All bills on a second reading shall first be considered by the Senate in the same manner as if the Senate were in committee of the whole, before they shall be taken up and proceeded on by the Senate agreeably to the standing rules, unless otherwise ordered. And when the Senate shall consider a treaty, bill, or resolution, as in committee of the whole, the Vice President, or President *pro tempore*, may call a member to fill the chair during the time the Senate shall remain in committee of the whole; and the chairman so called shall, during such time, have the powers of a President *pro tempore*.

29. The final question upon the second reading of every bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, originating in the Senate, and requiring three readings previous to being passed, shall be, "Whether it shall be engrossed and read a third time?" and no amendment shall be received for discussion at a third reading of any bill, resolution, amendment, or motion, unless by unanimous consent of the members present; but it shall at all times be in order, before the final passage of any such bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, to move its commitment; and should

such commitment take place, and any amendment be reported by the committee, the said bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, shall be again read a second time, and considered as in committee of the whole, and then the aforesaid question shall be again put. Whenever a private bill is under consideration, it shall be in order to move, as a substitute for it, a resolution of the Senate referring the case to the Court of Claims.

30. No amendment proposing additional appropriations shall be received to any general appropriation bill, unless it be made to carry out the provisions of some existing law, or some act or resolution, previously passed by the Senate, during that session, or moved by direction of a standing or select committee of the Senate, or in pursuance of an estimate from the head of some of the departments; and no amendments shall be received whose object is to provide for a private claim, unless it be to carry out the provisions of an existing law or a treaty stipulation.

31. When the hour shall have arrived for the consideration of a special order, it shall be the duty of the Chair to take up such special order, and the Senate shall proceed to consider it, unless it be postponed by vote of the Senate.

When two or more subjects shall have been specially assigned for consideration, they shall take precedence according to the order of time at which they were severally assigned, and such order shall at no time be lost or changed except by the direction of the Senate.

When two or more subjects shall have been assigned for the same hour, the subject first assigned for that hour shall take precedence; but special orders shall always have precedence of general orders, unless such special orders shall be postponed by direction of the Senate.

Special orders shall not lose their position on account of intervening adjournments; nor shall they lose their relative position on the calendar, except by vote of the Senate, until finally disposed of.

32. The titles of bills, and such parts thereof only as shall be affected by proposed amendments, shall be inserted on the journals.

33. The proceedings of the Senate, when not acting as in committee of the whole, shall be entered on the journal as concisely as possible, care being taken to detail a true and accurate account of the proceedings; but every vote of the Senate shall be entered on the journal, and a brief statement of the contents of each petition, memorial, or paper, presented to the Senate, shall also be inserted on the journal.

34. The following standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of each session, with leave to report by bill or otherwise:

A Committee on Foreign Relations, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Finance, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Commerce, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Naval Affairs, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on the Judiciary, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Public Lands, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Private Land Claims, to consist of five members.

A Committee on Indian Affairs, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Pensions, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Revolutionary Claims, to consist of five members.

A Committee on Claims, to consist of five members.

A Committee on the District of Columbia, to consist of seven members.

A Committee on Patents and the Patent Office, to consist of five members.

A Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to consist of five members, who shall have power also to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

A Committee on Territories, to consist of seven members.

A Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to consist of three members, to whom shall be referred all resolutions directing the payment of money out of the contingent fund of the Senate, or creating a charge on the same.

A Committee on Printing, to consist of three members, to whom shall be referred every question on the printing of documents, reports, or other matter transmitted by either of the executive departments, and all memorials, petitions, accompanying documents, together with all other matter, the printing of which shall be moved, excepting bills originating in Congress, resolutions offered by any Senator, communications from the legislatures, or conventions lawfully called, of the respective States, and motions to print by order of the standing committees of the Senate; motions to print additional numbers shall likewise be referred to said committee; and when the report shall be in favor of printing additional numbers, it shall be accompanied by an estimate of the probable cost; the said committee shall also supervise and direct the procuring of maps and drawings accompanying documents ordered to be printed.

A Committee on Engrossed Bills, to consist of three members, whose duty it shall be to examine all bills, amendments, resolutions, or motions, before they go out of the possession of the Senate; and shall deliver the same to the Secretary of the Senate, who shall enter upon the journal that the same have been correctly engrossed.

A Committee on Enrolled Bills, to consist of three members.

35. In the appointment of the standing committees, the Senate will proceed, by ballot, severally to appoint the chairman of each committee, and then, by one ballot, the other members necessary to complete the same; and a majority of the whole number of votes given shall be necessary to the choice of a chairman of a standing committee. All other committees shall be appointed by ballot; and a plurality of votes shall make a choice. When any subject or matter shall have been referred to a committee, any other subject or matter of a similar nature may, on motion, be referred to such committee.

36. When motions are made for reference of the same subject to a select committee, and to a standing committee, the question on reference to the standing committee shall be first put.

37. When nominations shall be made in writing by the President of the United States to the Senate, a future day shall be assigned, unless the Senate unanimously direct otherwise, for taking them into consideration. Nominations neither approved nor rejected during the session at which they are made, shall not be acted upon at any succeeding session without being again made by the President. When the President of the United States shall meet the Senate in the Senate chamber, the President of the Senate shall have a chair on the floor, be considered as the head of the Senate, and his chair shall be assigned to the President of the United States. When the Senate shall be convened by the President of the United States to any other place, the President of the Senate and Senators shall attend at the place appointed. The Secretary of the Senate shall also attend to take the minutes of the Senate.

38. Whenever a treaty shall be laid before the Senate for ratification, it shall be read a first time for information only; when no motion to reject, ratify, or modify the whole, or any part, shall be received. Its second reading shall be for consideration and on a subsequent day; when it shall be

taken up as in committee of the whole, and every one shall be free to move a question on any particular article, in this form: "Will the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of this article?" or to propose amendments thereto, either by inserting or by leaving out words; in which last case, the question shall be, "Shall these words stand as part of the article?" And in every of the said cases, the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators present shall be requisite to decide affirmatively. And when through the whole, the proceedings shall be stated to the House, and questions shall be again severally put thereon for confirmation, or new ones proposed, requiring, in like manner, a concurrence of two-thirds, for whatever is retained or inserted; the votes so confirmed shall, by the House, or a committee thereof, be reduced into the form of a ratification, with or without modifications, as may have been decided, and shall be proposed on a subsequent day, when every one shall again be free to move amendments, either by inserting or leaving out words; in which last case, the question shall be, "Shall these words stand as part of the resolution?" And in both cases, the concurrence of two-thirds shall be requisite to carry the affirmative, as well as on the final question to advise and consent to the ratification in the form agreed to.

39. All confidential communications, made by the President of the United States to the Senate, shall be by the members thereof kept secret; and all treaties which may be laid before the Senate shall also be kept secret, until the Senate shall, by their resolution, take off the injunction of secrecy.

40. All information or remarks touching or concerning the character or qualifications of any person nominated by the President to office shall be kept a secret.

41. When acting on confidential or executive business, the Senate shall be cleared of all persons, except the Secretary, the principal or the executive clerk, the sergeant-at-arms and doorkeeper, and the assistant doorkeeper.

42. The legislative proceedings, the executive proceedings, and the confidential legislative proceedings of the Senate, shall be kept in separate and distinct books.

43. The President of the United States shall, from time to time, be furnished with an authenticated transcript of the executive records of the Senate; and all nominations approved or definitely acted on by the Senate shall be returned by the Secretary, from day to day, as such proceedings may occur; but no further extract from the executive journal shall be furnished, except by special order; and no paper, except original treaties, transmitted to the Senate by the President of the United States, or any executive officer, shall be returned or delivered from the office of the Secretary without an order of the Senate for that purpose.

44. When an amendment to be proposed to the constitution is under consideration, the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present shall not be requisite to decide any question for amendments, or extending to the merits, being short of the final question.

45. When any question may have been decided by the Senate, in which two-thirds of the members present are necessary to carry the affirmative, any member who votes on that side which prevailed in the question may be at liberty to move for a reconsideration; and a motion for reconsideration shall be decided by a majority of votes.

46. Messages shall be sent to the House of Representatives by the Secretary, who shall previously endorse the final determination of the Senate thereon.

47. Messengers are introduced in any state of business, except while a question is putting, while the yeas and nays are calling, or while the ballots are counting.

48. The following persons and none others shall be admitted on the floor of the Senate: Members of the House of Representatives, and their clerk; the Secretary of State; the Secretary of the Treasury; the Secretary of the Interior; the Secretary of War; the Secretary of the Navy; the Attorney

General, and the Postmaster General; the private secretary of the President; chaplains to Congress; superintendent of the Public Printing; deputy postmaster of the city of Washington, and the marshal of the United States for the District of Columbia; judges of the United States; clerk of the Supreme Court; foreign ministers and their secretaries; ministers of the United States to foreign governments and their secretaries, and persons who have been such ministers or secretaries; the superintendent of the Coast Survey; the mayor of Washington; the mayor of Georgetown; the heads of bureaus; the secretary and members of the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution; the district attorney of the United States for the District of Columbia; officers who, by name, have received, or shall hereafter receive, the thanks of Congress for their gallantry and good conduct in the service of their country, or who have received medals by a vote of Congress; the governor, for the time being, of any State or Territory of the Union; the ex-governors of the several States; judges of the courts of record of the several States, and persons who have been chancellors or judges of the highest courts of law or equity of the several States; the ex-officers of the Senate; such gentlemen as have been heads of departments, secretaries, clerks, sergeant-at-arms, or members of either branch of Congress; persons who, for the time being, belong to the respective State and Territorial legislatures, and persons belonging to such legislatures of foreign governments as are in amity with the United States.

No person, except members and officers of the Senate, and members of the House of Representatives, shall be admitted at either of the side doors of the Senate chamber; and all persons claiming admission on the floor of the Senate, excepting members, and the clerk, and sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives, for the time being, the heads of the several departments, the private secretary of the President, the chaplains to Congress, judges of the United States

and of the several States, foreign ministers and their secretaries, ministers and ex-ministers of the United States, their secretaries and ex-secretaries, and the clerk of the Supreme Court; solicitor and clerk of the Court of Claims; and officers, who, by name, shall have received the thanks of Congress, or medals by a vote of Congress; the superintendent of the Coast Survey, the mayor of Washington, heads of bureaus, the secretaries and members of the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution, the district attorney of the United States for the District of Columbia, and persons who have been chancellors or judges of the highest courts of law or equity of the several States, shall, (each time before being admitted upon the floor,) enter their names, together with the official position in right of which they claim admission, in a book to be provided and kept at the main entrance to the Senate chamber; and no person except members of the Senate shall be allowed within the bar of the Senate, or to occupy the seat of any Senator.

49. The presiding officer of the Senate shall have the regulation of such parts of the Capitol, and of its passages, as are or may be set apart for the use of the Senate and its officers.

50. Whenever a claim is presented to the Senate and referred to a committee, and the committee report that the claim ought not to be allowed, and the report be adopted by the Senate, it shall not be in order to move to take the papers from the files for the purpose of referring them at subsequent sessions, unless the claimants shall present a memorial for that purpose, stating in what manner the committee have erred in their report, or that new evidence has been discovered since the report, and setting forth the new evidence, in the memorial: *Provided*, That this rule shall not extend to any case where an adverse report, not in writing, shall have been made prior to the 25th of January, 1842.

51. Any officer or member of the Senate convicted of

disclosing for publication any written or printed matter directed by the Senate to be held in confidence, shall be liable, if an officer, to dismissal from the service of the Senate, and in the case of a member, to suffer expulsion from the body.

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